

THE

The Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION

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seriously detract from the value first assigned to them. We intend to look at the measure exclusively in its relation to those topics which we usually treat of in this department of our paper. We have been unable as yet to marshall our thoughts into a position which even we ourselves can regard as final. Generally, our idea is that the Bill, as it stands, may be accepted as the basis of the future educational arrangements of the country; that, in some respects, its provisions are admirable; that, in several respects, they will need judicious modification; and that, in no respect, perhaps, will they admit of being brought into entire harmony—(for some time to come, at least)—with the principles we have been accustomed to regard as most closely identified with the best welfare of the people.

The first feature of the measure to which we direct the attention of our readers is one which will have their unqualified approbation. It is that which relates to the discontinuance of denominational inspectors, and, as a matter of course, to a large extent, of any inspection whatever into religious instruction. Hitherto, the custom has been to appoint one or more Inspectors of Schools for each denomination, and, as Mr. Forster expressed it, there are concordats which prevent certain schools from being visited by any but a denominational inspector. The Vice-President of the Council very truly remarked that "this inspection of religious teaching misleads," because "While it fails to secure religious teaching, it oftentimes induces Church organisations to relieve themselves from what, under the circumstances, is an unpleasant duty." It is proposed, therefore, that, after a limited period, one of the conditions of public elementary schools shall be, that they shall admit any inspector appointed by her Majesty, without any denominational provision.

But it ought not and cannot be concealed from our readers that the provisions of the Bill, so far as they relate to, or can affect, the religious instruction given in schools, will lead to results which in several respects Nonconformists will feel themselves compelled to deprecate. The religious difficulty, which Mr. Forster regards as almost exclusively a Parliamentary difficulty, is not so much solved as evaded. "The battle of the Sects," henceforth, is to be fought, not in the House of Commons but in the school districts. To some extent, the Bill will revive something of that sectarian animosity which the abolition of Church-rates was intended to abolish. Neither in the metropolitan districts, nor in municipal towns, perhaps, will this feature of the measure bear unfairly upon denominations not in connection with the Established Church; but in parochial districts it will hand over the population to be educated in the main according to the views held by the incumbent and by the local magnates who are generally ready to uphold his authority. Mr. Forster, no doubt, has done his best to minimise the unfairness of this part of the scheme, by methods to which we shall presently advert, but there can be no question that in towns the Bill, as it stands, will give effect to what last Session was denounced as "concurrent endowment" and in rural districts will for the most part set up a supplementary Church Establishment. We confess we do not see our way clear to any provisions that will prevent this if our Educational System is to become

permanently denominational. It may be, indeed, that no such results will eventually grow out of the adoption of this system, as we are compelled to anticipate. It may be that the relation of the civil power to the religious organisations of the land may be entirely changed in England and Wales, as they have already been in Ireland, before the new means of influence given by this measure to the clergy shall have been turned to account. But it would be childish to attempt to impose upon ourselves the delusive inference that, because the Bill scarcely mentions religious instruction in its clauses except for the purpose of protecting individual liberty, it does not substantially commit the authority and power of the State to religious teaching in public elementary schools according to the views maintained by the School Boards respectively in every educational district.

Well, but there is a Conscience Clause framed in the most careful manner, so as to detect the smallest deviation by managers or by teachers from religious liberty, and capable of being enforced by penalties that are likely enough to be deterrent to sectarian tyranny. We believe the clause, as it stands, will be as nearly as possible inoperative, wherever it is most needed, simply because they who would require its protection will not dare to invoke it. But we are in hopes that it will not be left precisely as it stands. The object at which it aims would be better accomplished, we think, by requiring all parents who send their children to a public elementary school, to declare the denomination to which they profess to belong, and, in case of difference of denomination between that adopted by the managers of the school and that professed by parents, to make it unlawful for the teacher to give dogmatic instruction to the children of such parents, unless at the formal request of the parents themselves. But there is another mode, and a better, of reaching the same end—a mode which, if accepted by the Vice-President of the Council, and sanctioned by Parliament, would render a Conscience Clause entirely unnecessary. Provision might be made to confine religious teaching in all elementary schools receiving public aid, to a certain time before the commencement of school hours, or to a certain time after the close of school hours, or to both. In that case the religious instruction would be purely voluntary, and would appear to be so, and although this mode of meeting the difficulty is not entirely free from theoretical objections, practically, it would meet all the pressing requirements of the case.

It would be premature to draw from the first outburst of favourable feeling on the part of the House, a reliable conclusion that the Bill will therefore pass into law. It is, perhaps, the best that has yet been produced. It is capable of being made much better in committee. Its faults and deficiencies are happily, to a great extent, separable from its substance without necessarily affecting its vitality. It has excellencies of a germinal nature, even in regard to the religious bearings of the question, which to some extent will counterbalance its shortcomings and vices. It will have to pass through a rather fiery ordeal. It is not a party measure, nor will it be treated as such; but there are not a few members of the House of Commons who will devote themselves, heart and soul, to the work of putting the measure into

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

MR. FORSTER'S EDUCATION BILL.

IT is no part of our intention in the observations that follow to summarise the provisions of Mr. Forster's Education Bill. We must refer our readers who desire to obtain accurate knowledge of what the measure proposes to do, and how it proposes to do it, to the report we have elsewhere given of the speech of the Vice-President of Council, and to an analysis of the clauses of the measure copied from the *Pall Mall Gazette*. But before proceeding to the special subject of remark, to which we shall confine ourselves for the present, we feel it to be due to Mr. Forster, as it is certainly pleasant to our own feelings, to say a word or two upon the speech with which the right hon. gentleman introduced his motion. Seldom have we witnessed in the House of Commons a more decided triumph than that which he achieved on Thursday evening. It is, perhaps, somewhat difficult to discriminate with precision the causes to which this success was due. The confidence of the House in the man furnished, no doubt, one element conducing to it. His evident earnestness of purpose, manifested not only by his insistence upon a serious attempt by the Government to settle the question of Education this Session, but also by the whole bearing of the speaker, and the whole tone of his speech further contributed to make a favourable impression upon the House. The manner in which, whilst he repudiated all idea of effecting a compromise, he dealt out to the two great educational parties what appeared to be a practical recognition of their respective principles, and the skill with which he kept out of sight those consequences of his measure which will scarcely bear being brought out into the light for the purpose of searching examination, told, it cannot be doubted, most effectually upon the convictions and sympathies of members on both sides. It seemed when the Right Hon. Gentleman concluded his statement that one of the most perplexing problems of modern times had been satisfactorily solved, and Conservatives and Liberals were equally hearty in the applause they rendered to him.

First impressions, however, are not always to be trusted. Schemes that, on their first appearance, are imagined to present all the materials requisite for compassing the object they have in view, not unfrequently disclose to maturer study defects which, if not fatal,

that improved shape which will justify both to their consciences, and to their wishes, its being placed before the end of the present Session upon the Statute-Book of the Realm.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

THE Irish Church Convention, which is now sitting, may appear, at first sight, to be something like a failure. There is a great division of opinion in it. There are strong elements of opposition. The discussions upon the questions at issue are not merely vigorous, but sometimes approach to violence. We congratulate Irish Churchmen upon these facts. There could have been no worse augury of the future character of their Church than that the new constitution should have been accepted without a vigorous discussion. We have assurances in the debates that are now taking place, that the Episcopalians of Ireland care not a little as to what their Church is to be. For ourselves we are rather surprised that there is so much excitement; while, at the same time, we are as gratified as we are surprised. Almost anything in matters of religion, is better than apathy and indifference. The Free Episcopalian Church in Ireland, therefore, should be really congratulated upon the discussions that are now taking place. Whichever way these discussions may tend, it is far better that the ultimate result should be arrived at after healthy debate than that it should be the result of a mere indifferent acquiescence. And it ought, by-the-by, to be remembered by Irish Churchmen that they are indebted for the interest which they now show, in their own Church, to Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal members of the present Parliament. If that newly-awakened interest exhibits itself, at present, in unexpected ways, we may be quite certain that all will come right in the end. The American Episcopalian Church passed through an exactly similar crisis, and is now one of the most united bodies in Christendom. The recent discussions in the Convention may perhaps have one distinctly healthy effect—they will tame the pretensions of the sacerdotalists. It is quite clear that, if order is to reign in the new Church, bishops and priests will have to moderate their claims.

It is, on the whole, a pity that the Temple controversy cannot be allowed to cease. Its further prosecution, however, is an apt illustration of the degree of comprehension allowed in the Church, as contrasted with the degree of unity, which should, if comprehension be worth anything, always accompany it. Degrees of opinion are clearly allowed, but so, also, degrees not of love, but of something very like hate. What comprehension there really is proves how unnatural it is. Unity of spirit is sacrificed to latitude of opinion. Neither men nor bishops can even "agree to differ"; they will not agree at all. Of this spirit comes the letter of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol in the *Times* of Monday. The Bishop characterises the speech of his brother Bishop of Exeter as a "melancholy and disastrous sequel" to the history of the "Essays and Reviews" question. It was, he says, a "so-called explanation," and "the only answer that could be given was given—sorrowful and rebuking silence." He and others are now "distressed and shocked beyond words." Instead of peace, there can now only be, at least for the present, "continued doubt and estrangement." Are not these last words a very fair description of the attitude of all the various parties in the Established Church to each other? Yet this is what some laud as "comprehension."

The Young Men's Committee of the Liberation Society are doing a great work in indoctrinating the minds of the rising generation of Dissenters with the principles which are now characteristic of modern Dissent. Upon their shoulders will probably fall the burden of the next decisive conflict. To them we shall have, in great measure, to look for the enthusiasm and the activity which are necessary to the successful conduct of a great public agitation. The most remarkable of their meetings this season was held at Hackney last Wednesday night, when the Rev. J. A. Picton, formerly of Leicester, delivered an address on "The Bearing of National Religious Establishments on Free Thought and Inquiry." The address was of so able a character that we have thought it desirable to transfer it to our columns. Some of Mr. Picton's observations will not probably receive the assent of our readers, but that he could state them as he did is at least a proof that Nonconformity is consistent with free thought and inquiry. His attack on the so-called comprehensiveness of the Ecclesiastical Establishment was conducted on what all who read his address must, we think, conclude to be very original and successful lines of thought. The comprehensiveness that actually exists, Mr. Picton proved to be narrow in itself, while he held that, such as it was, it was

secured at the expense of sacredness of language, "to the peril of the public conscience." This, and his third argument, that Churchmen confounded the religious with the intellectual life of the nation, were perhaps the most successfully worked out. The discussion which followed indicated the extent of some Churchmen's ignorance as to the principles and practices of Nonconformists, as well as their ignorance of ecclesiastical history. We should be glad to see Mr. Picton's paper separately published. It is an effective reply to Dean Stanley, and indirectly to Sir John Coleridge's Sion College paper.

We have another illustration of the moral value of the comprehension theory in some proceedings at a meeting of the Church Association at Liverpool last week. The Church Association, it may be remembered, is Evangelical, and this is how the Rev. H. J. Carpenter, the lecturer on the occasion, spoke of those parties in his own Church from whom he differed:

To give an unlawful preponderance to the senses—to try to rouse the affections by sound, or by show, or by smell, by a set of gentle gymnastics which were more worthy of a set of Eastern funkeys in the presence of some earthly pasha—this was to contradict what the apostle said, that bodily exercise profiteth little, and to contravene the whole tenor and spirit of Christian worship. Gentlemen of the Ritualistic heresy might think their mode of conducting services very fine, but Sims Reeves, the musician, and Rimmel, the perfumer, with half-a-dozen dancing Dervishes, would do it much better than they could. (Laughter.) With regard to the use of symbolism, the Church of England was separated by a wide gulf from the Church of Rome, and it was this gulf which the Ritualists were trying to bridge. Addressing himself more particularly to the ritualistic developments of symbolism, the lecturer divided his remarks under four heads—causes, reasons, results, remedies. The revival of excessive symbolism he attributed to a decline of spiritual life in the Church: its origin he found in the weakness of human nature. Seeing how things are, Mr. Carpenter gives up the idea of a connection between Church and State. He says that—

He had stood by the principle of Church and State, and he still loved it, but the practice of it, he believed, had now ceased to be a possibility. How would they reform the Church? How would they purify it? Would Parliament take the trouble? and even if it did, would it not extend more liberty to those men in the Church who should now be out of it? He believed it would, and could they, who stood by the principle of Church and State, say, in the sight of God, the nation shall rise up and lay its patronising hand upon a Church that can shelter an atheist on this side and an idolater on that? Was that the Church they were to establish? He believed that the working of that association would lead public opinion to the conclusion that it was not. Better that the result should come now than that it should be postponed. If postponed, ritualism was on the increase, and in five or ten years the Ritualists would divide the Church. But disestablish now. The Evangelicals had the majority of the Protestant people at their back, and they could oust these men. (Cheers.) He believed that when the people of this country were educated, and the Church made evangelical and free, the world could not stand before the Protestant democracy of England. Mr. Carpenter is almost the first Evangelical minister whom we have known to speak in this manner; does he represent the opinions of the Church Association?

Of questions that might be discussed in an unsectarian manner that of the revision of the Bible is certainly one. But no sooner is it raised than the representatives of parties in the Established Church begin to make it a sectarian question. Assuming that there are controversial passages, why should not scholars be able to settle their meaning and their rendering without reference to actual differences of opinion existing at the present time in England? A writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* has shadowed forth some of the points of difference thus:—

There are passages in which important words, savouring of doctrine, are rendered in a secondary or ecclesiastical sense. Lord Shaftesbury asked but too pertinently, in his letter already referred to, why, if we reform our Bibles, are we to use the word "church" for that which in the Greek is invariably denominated by the simple word "assembly"? insomuch that the mystical body of believers which figures so prominently in ecclesiastical theories is named in Greek by the same word, and no other, which designates the public meeting dismissed by the town clerk of Ephesus. Why use the title "bishop," which means one thing only, instead of the real word "overseer," which may mean many other things? Why deliberately confound under one English name two Greek ones, signifying respectively the Christian minister and the sacrificing priest? These technical expressions may be very imposing: they may suit many preconcerted opinions: but are they the truth?

And again,—

One of King James I.'s "rules to be observed in translation of the Bible" is "The old ecclesiastical words to be kept—viz. the word 'church' not to be translated 'congregation,' &c." But this is not the seventeenth century, and we have no James I. to keep our translators within arbitrary bounds of his own. Most assuredly, if the task of a new version is once undertaken, the whole question (and a searching one it is) of adhering to or rejecting secondary meanings will be raised in a manner which easy-going members of Convocation little anticipate.

This writer, who signs himself a "Protestant Clergyman," says, "Let a wiser and calmer age than ours deal with the problem." Then we, as we now live, are neither wise nor calm.

But whether, as a whole, we are neither wise nor calm, there are persons who are possessed of great moral influence who would lead us whither we at least are not prepared to follow. It is difficult, for instance, to follow Mr. Clark, the late Public Orator of Cambridge University, through his pamphlet on the "Present Dangers of the Church of England." Mr. Clark has recently resigned a high position in the University because of his incapacity of believing in the doctrines to which he had once subscribed. His present pamphlet is, we take it, simply a rebound from his old position. He remains a Churchman, but he wants an Established Church without any dogmas, that is to say, without any doctrines, or at least without any that have not stood the test of modern science and criticism—which is as much as to say that the dogmas must change according to the changes of men of science, amongst whom there is always great disagreement. Mr. Clark's theory, therefore, would make the men of science the dictators from time to time of what should be believed by Church clergymen. They, and not Parliament, would settle the creed of the Church. Is it necessary to say more?

THE BEARING OF NATIONAL RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS ON FREE THOUGHT AND INQUIRY.

The fifth of the series of conferences convened by the London Young Men's Committee of the Liberation Society, for the purpose of disseminating correct information and encouraging discussion on the State-Church question, was held in the new Town Hall, Hackney, on the evening of Tuesday, February 15. There was a crowded attendance on the occasion, both the body of the hall and the galleries were crammed.

Mr. CHARLES REED, M.P., who occupied the chair, said he should not enter into the subject, but perform the duty devolving upon him of introducing the gentleman who was to open the discussion. At the same time, the crowded meeting, composed, as he knew, of members of all denominations, was a proof to him of the growing interest which was being felt upon the question of civil and religious liberty. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. ALLANSON PICTON, M.A., minister of St. Thomas's-square Chapel, Hackney, on coming forward, remarked that before he opened the discussion, it might be desirable to explain his own position. Though a member of the Liberation Society, he was not there to-night as the advocate of their opinions. He stood on his own legs, was responsible for his own words, and the Society should not be held accountable for anything that he might utter. He then read the following paper on "The Bearing of National Religious Establishments on Free Thought and Inquiry":—

When, as a boy, I used to read, or hear, the Biblical record of the memorable conflict between Moses and the magicians of Egypt, I was always greatly excited by the pertinacity with which, after each of the earlier miracles of the prophet, the magicians would persist in "doing so with their enchantments." Aaron cast down his rod, and it became a serpent, "the magicians did so with their enchantments"; but as a sign, I suppose, of the superiority of genuine Divine power over artful imitations, we are told that "Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods." The same sort of conflict, with points of deeper analogy than might at first sight appear, has been going on for hundreds of years between the Nonconformist and Conformist churches. For that period, they have gone on challenging and provoking each other—let us hope, to love and good works. Whenever one side produced an institution adapted to the spirit of the age, the other side instantly did so by their enchantments, and the balance was more or less redressed. Thus Sunday-schools, missionary societies, Bible societies, town and village missions, ragged-schools, mothers' meetings, have been taken up by one side and the other; I will not undertake to say in what order. Suffice it that each side wished to show itself up to the most recent development of the times. I have to do at present only with two instances of this kind of Christian rivalry. At the time of the Reformation, the fond and exclusive emphasis given to one doctrine—justification by faith—inevitably produced a tendency to a uniform type of religious experience and opinion. The gaily variegated life of the Catholic Church, was replaced by the dull solemnity of Geneva doctrine and discipline. The very earnestness of the religious opinions of the times, at least in reformed countries, tended to an exclusive uniformity. And the various Puritan sects carried this out in the internal discipline of their voluntary churches. Then the Establishment did so with its enchantments—and very potent they were, consisting not merely of political interests and social prestige, but of edicts and acts of uniformity, culminating in that of 1662, which ordained, so far as the power of law could go, that all bishops, priests, and deacons of the Anglican Church should think alike, pray alike, read alike, and preach alike. Within the last generation or two, however, the mind of the age has been increasingly restless under the unwarrantable limits formerly im-

posed on religious thought and inquiry. Nonconformist churches have so far met this necessity of the times, partly by an elaboration of sectarian divisions, partly by the extension of the terms of communion within the limits of these divisions. Here again the Establishmentarians have done so with their enchantments. But there is this difference, that while the Nonconforming churches alter their laws, or have none to alter, the Establishment tries to bring about comprehension by means of an instrument specially invented to secure exclusion. I do not state the case thus for the sake of bringing any charge of inconsistency against the Anglican Church; because in this instance I admire the inconsistency. I am strongly of opinion that in this matter of comprehensiveness and liberality, the more *all* churches are inconsistent with their past, the better for the spiritual interests of humanity. I put the matter thus, mainly to avoid for the moment all controversy as to which type of Christianity has done most to generate the spirit of the age. I acknowledge that all of us alike, Conformist or Nonconformist, are borne on the wave of a resistless impulse, which is dragging us loose from our old "quiet resting-places," and forcing us to look to our anchors. It has become matter of life and death to us—of more than life and death—to have pilots who do not trust to old-fashioned instruments and ancient charts, but who take soundings for themselves; brave-hearted, keen-eyed men, from whom we can find out where we are and what we have to expect. Now, it is urged that this is just what a National Establishment, and only a National Establishment, can provide for us. In a word, law courts and the Privy Council will not find man heretical if they can possibly help it, while voluntary churches and Nonconformist college committees anathematise a man the moment he departs from their opinions. A German, writing to the *Nonconformist* newspaper a few months ago, asked, "Given the Church of England on the one hand and Dissenting bodies on the other as existing institutions, on which side lies the freest scope for a religious teacher who seeks to preach the truth exactly as it shaped itself to his own mind? The letter of the Articles apart—is not the doctrinal liberty allowed to the clergy practically unlimited?" Another correspondent writes:—"I wonder that those who advocate the separation of Church and State do not see that it would be fatal to free thought and free inquiry"; and he adds, "The Liberationists appear to be wholly unaware that there are vast numbers of people to whom truth is far dearer than anything else, and that to squabble about systems, or means through which truth finds its way to the hearts of the people, is to think more of the shape and style of the wine-glass than of the quality of the wine in the butt." These quotations are only samples of much else that has recently appeared, and the substance of it all is this: that new developments of religious opinion generally have a difficulty in establishing themselves; that any unusual freedom of thought on religious matters always excites suspicion; that it is, nevertheless, to the advantage of the nation to encourage a spirit of free and reverent inquiry amongst its religious teachers; that this is impossible, or at least very difficult, when they are left dependent on the voluntary support of adherents; and that therefore the National Establishment, in securing a respectable maintenance to "Attitudinarians, Latitudinarians, and Platitudinarians," alike, renders a service which could not otherwise be possibly supplied. Let me be distinctly understood as to the point of view from which I am about to regard this argument. It has been too common to urge the comprehensiveness of the National Church as a reason for disestablishment. You know the kind of complaint that used to be made: "Here is one man maintaining that the genealogy of 'Adam, Seth, Enos,' and so on, is a mystical passage containing a prophecy of Christ, while another speaks most irreverently of Balasam's ass, and a third maintains that the cloak St. Paul left at Troas was a chasuble. As to any national teaching of religious truth, the only direction we get is like that given in a well-known children's game, the refrain of which is, 'All go round and choose your own—and choose a good one, or let it alone.'" As against the old theory, that the State is bound to protect and enforce true opinions about religion, this is all very well; and the old sarcasm about Noah's Ark and Babel had no little point. But, "we have changed all that"; and I for my part am very glad we have. So far as the comprehensiveness of the National Establishment indicates a growing sense of the profound distinction between faith and opinion, a great many Nonconformists regard it with as much satisfaction as the Broadest Churchmen, and are just as anxious as they can be that the utmost scope should be given to freedom of thought and inquiry. Still farther, there is a large, and I will add, a growing number amongst us, who believe that the expanding revelations of science and prehistoric archaeology have totally dislocated the framework which once contained all religious opinions about the creation and progress of the world; and we cherish a fervent gratitude towards brave men like Colenso, Jowett, and others, who, in the teeth of obloquy, have dared to speak out the conclusions which are only dangerous when held in the unrighteousness of hypocrisy. We do not blind ourselves to the inevitable difficulties which always beset the path of those who in any respect are in advance of their contemporaries. And we will not attempt for one moment to palliate the miserable narrowness occasionally displayed by so-called free churches and voluntary religious corporations. We would only say to the Established Churches of the world and of all time, "Let that which is without sin amongst you first cast its stone

at us.' I refer to such matters only to make plain the standpoint which I represent, and to clear the way for answering a question which I daresay suggests itself to many here. It may be asked, "Holding the views you do, how can you possibly object to an arrangement which substitutes the judicial calm of national tribunals for faction fights in sectarian meetings, and which secures to every religious teacher, within a liberal interpretation of the law, the means of independence while he promulgates his opinions?" Well, I will tell you why I at least object to the present arrangement, and to any conceivable arrangement involving a national religious establishment. 1. Because practically the so-called comprehensiveness at present existing is ridiculously narrow; and, even so far as it goes, is secured at the expense of the sacredness of language, to the peril of the public conscience. 2. Because universally, comprehension is unfair where it is possible, and impossible if it is to be fair. 3. Because the whole argument confounds the *religious* with the *intellectual* life of the nation. 4. Because it would make the adjustment between these a matter of law instead of a matter of fluctuating feeling and opinion. 5. Because if the national property, mischievously applied to purposes of religious life, were secured, regardless of all spiritual considerations, to its intellectual life, there would be ample provision for independent inquiry on all subjects. The first two reasons I will consider separately. The last three may be thrown together.

1st. There is undoubtedly considerable diversity of theological opinion among the clergy, but, on the other hand, each one of them necessarily gives his assent to a system which implies some peculiar sanctity in episcopal orders and some special efficacy in the sacraments. I am not saying whether that is true or false; I only say that there are some thousands of Christian ministers in this land who do not believe that there is any difference whatever between a layman and a priest, except one of the same kind as exists between a layman and a lawyer. Really this is a difference about which we need not squabble; but you know well enough that, on this simple question, comprehension cannot be brought about without a revolution, which would be equivalent to the disestablishment of the Church at present in possession and the establishment of another. There are I know not how many thousands of Baptists in England and Wales who, in addition to their non-sacerdotalism differ from the Church of England mainly in what many think one very trifling point. How can any one dare to talk of comprehension without a blush, when in our country districts the children of these men are sometimes buried like dogs? Amongst the Unitarians, I fancy that the scope allowed to "Essayists and Reviewers," has converted many to a sort of sidelong fondness for the Establishment; but what Unitarian thinks that he could take orders and remain a true man? Charles Voysey has fallen in one court, and it is hardly expected that any of the higher courts will pick him up. Wesleyans are a good deal changed since the days when my grandfather used to go to his parish church in the morning, and his Methodist chapel in the evening. The story of their worshipping John Wesley's wig is getting a little out of date now. They would never dream of entering the Establishment except on equal terms; and these, what bishop is likely to propose? It is all very well to point to a Ritualist here, and an Essayist there, escaped by the skin of his teeth from a law court. It is pleasing no doubt and interesting to hold communion with bishops of the Greek Church. All this proves, I gladly own, the growing liberality of the age. But while the whole framework of the Church involves the Catholic traditions of ordination and the sacraments, together with the formal exclusiveness they necessarily involve, to talk of the comprehensiveness of a church which shuts out half our worshipping population, is an insult to common sense. I know the reply which would be made. "There is too much truth in such remarks—but then think how it is with your Free Churches." And dismal pictures would bedrawn of the tyrannical deacons of little Bethel, and my honoured tutor, Dr. Davidson, trotted out once more to illustrate the cruelty of Nonconformist College Committees. Well, I am very sorry to think that deacons are not always what they should be; and that the college once honoured by Dr. Davidson's name should so little have appreciated its privileges. But then it should be remembered, that no one Nonconforming sect pretends to be *The Church*, the only representative of the Catholic Church in this country—that Holy Catholic Church in which we as heartily believe as any Anglican. And though they are often too narrow in their terms of membership, yet for years past there has been amongst them an increasing interchange of services, which tends to expand the internal communion of each. If the National Church should be the nation in its religious aspect, then the United Free Churches form the National Church of half the population; and comprehension amongst them, though differently arranged, is somewhat greater than in the other half of the National Church, with all its loud professions. But farther, I have to urge that such freedom of thought and speech as is secured in National Establishments, is obtained at the expense of the sacredness of language, to the peril of the public conscience. I will not trouble you with much argument of my own on this point, but will simply read the language of two different clergymen on this subject, and then leave you to judge with which the sympathy of a frank and unsophisticated heart must go. Bear in mind the tests to which candidates have to submit; and listen to the mode in which one man would deal with them. I quote from the language of the Rev. H. B. Wilson in "Essays and Reviews":—

The strictly legal obligation is the measure of the moral

one. Subscription may be thought even to be inoperative upon the conscience by reason of its vagueness. For the act of subscription is enjoined, but its effect or meaning nowhere plainly laid down, and it does not seem to amount to more than an acceptance of the Articles of the Church as the formal law to which the subscriber is in some sense subject. What that subscription amounts to must be gathered elsewhere, for it does not appear on the face of the subscription itself.—13th Ed., 1863, p. 217.

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that any of the Thirty-Nine Articles . . . are in any part superstitious or erroneous," &c. An Article may be very inexpedient, or become so, may be unintelligible, or not easily intelligible to ordinary mortals; it may be controversial, . . . and though not superstitious, may appear so; such as those which seem to impute an occult operation to the sacraments. The fifth Canon does not touch the affirming of any of these things. Thirty-sixth Canon:—"That he alloweth the Book of Articles . . . and that he acknowledgeth the same to be agreeable to the Word of God." We allow many things which we do not think wise or practically useful, &c. &c. Secondly, "he acknowledgeth the same to be agreeable to the Word of God." Some distinction may be founded upon the word *acknowledge*. He does not maintain nor regard it as self-evident, nor originate it as his own feeling, spontaneous opinion, or conviction; but when it is suggested to him, put in a certain shape, when the intention of the framers is borne in mind, their probable purpose and design explained, together with the difficulties which surround them, he is not prepared to contradict, and he acknowledges there is a great deal to be said which had not at first occurred to him. Many other wiser and better men than himself have acknowledged the same thing. Why should he be obstinate? Besides, he is young, and has plenty of time—or old, . . . and it would be absurd at his time of life to be setting up as a Church reformer.—P. 218.

Compare with this the words of Sedley Taylor, in his pamphlet on "Clerical Subscription":—

The general effect of subscription may be thus briefly stated:—It deprives clergymen of liberty of thought and speech on all the very numerous questions which are dogmatically decided, either in the Articles or Liturgy. Their own reiterated acts of assent fetter their consciences, and legal penalties choke their utterance. . . . There is then no improbability in the case I have supposed, of a clergyman forming theological convictions inconsistent with adherence to the doctrines of the formularies. Let him have bound himself with family ties, and have others dependent upon him, and it will not be easy to imagine a position more painful than his. Two alternatives are before him—to throw up his pre-ferment, and thereby sacrifice the future of his family as well as his own, or to continue professing opinions which he does not believe. If he adopts the latter alternative, as in most cases he will find himself compelled to do, a wretched fate awaits him. *A course of casuistical attempts to stretch the terms of subscription, or discover a loophole accidentally left here or there in the formularies,* will do little more than blunt the edge of his moral sense. It will not remove the secret dread with which he hears of new results in science, or criticism which may conflict with the fixed tenets to which he stands committed. He will often be found veiling his thoughts under misty or ambiguous phraseology, or employing established orthodoxy language, without a hint to his hearers that he uses it in a sense different from that in which they understand it. On great contested issues his attitude will be one of apologetic timidity, barely concealing his anxiety that no positive expression of opinion may be forced from him; while he neither dares to disobey his conscience by explicitly asserting, nor his subscription by openly denying that which he does not really believe. If he ends in becoming a heartless cynic—worse than useless as a religious teacher, and thoroughly unhappy as a man—where but upon clerical subscription, is the blame to be laid?

2. But it is time to pass on to another point, and to deal with the idea that the limitations might be removed. In answer to this, I reply, that in these times comprehension is unfair when it is possible, and impossible where it would be fair. The kind of comprehension at present existing I call unfair, and I have given reasons. And this kind of comprehension is only possible where a long course of tradition has given a prestige and stability to a religious establishment, such as permits its formularies to be stretched or squeezed according to necessity. This sort of comprehension is unfair because it permits the conformity of only those with "educated" consciences, while multitudes of simpler souls with essentially the same opinions are excluded. What, then, would be a fair comprehension? If the National Church is to be the nation in its religious aspect, then I maintain that *all* phases of its religious opinion ought to be included—even the negative phases, i.e., its infidelity. The very notion of comprehension implies an abandonment of the idea that the opinions of the majority are to be the standard; and when once that is settled, there is no logical stopping-place short of the adoption of all opinions. Now this sort of comprehension may at some time become possible, to a very much larger degree than at present, if the national religious life be left to express itself, as it is its nature to do, spontaneously, freely, and variously. That is, different sections of the One Church will be drawn more and more together, as spiritual sympathies disengage themselves from conflicting opinions. But when that millennium arrives, no need will be felt for a Parliamentary organisation of the Catholic Church. It will organise itself. Meanwhile, the only fair comprehension, which should include all the elements of our religious life is simply impossible. Even were the sects to consent to it, which we know they would not, it would amount not to comprehension, which implies *union*, but only to concurrent endowment, an expedient affording no real satisfaction to the Catholic mind, and a hopeless puzzle to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

3. But the fact is, the subject opens up deeper questions than any of these, and questions which I can do little more than suggest. When we are told

that a National Establishment is needed to secure an easy independence to teachers of unpopular truths, I maintain that there is a confusion here between the intellectual and the religious life of the nation—not that I suppose these can be wholly separated; still there is a distinction. For example, I say that the judgment by which a man determines whether the early chapters of Genesis are mythical or historical, is intellectual, not religious. But the perceptions by which the soul receives inspiring suggestions from the Bible are religious, not intellectual. Just so the extent to which the nation might take an interest in the question whether Genesis is mythic or historical, would manifest the *intellectual* life of the nation. The extent to which the nation might be inspired by the higher morality of the Bible, would measure the *religious* life of the nation. I know there is a very close relationship between these two. Still they are distinguishable; and it is a very fruitful source of fallacies to confound them. For one thing, it leads to a confusion between intellectual and religious freedom, which are very different things. One characteristic of intellectual freedom is that its opinions are independent of religious prejudice. Religious freedom, on the other hand, ought to mean the condition of that faith which is more or less independent of the contingencies of opinion. It may show intellectual freedom when a man comes to the conclusion that no whale ever swallowed Jonah. But that is not religious freedom. It shows religious freedom when a man says, "It makes no difference to my faith whether the whale swallowed Jonah or not." I think there is a difference here which is too much ignored. And I am sure it is ignored by our friends who think a National Church necessary to protect free inquiry. The Church, *qua* Church, has nothing to do with intellectual freedom, unless to abstain from interfering with it. What it needs is *religious freedom*; and no government on earth can give her that. It belongs to that hidden life, which is only evolved by devout contemplation, and the contagion of sympathy human and divine. And the ideal of a Church which is to help in that subtle process, involves, I believe, the most perfect and unfettered willfulness in all the relations of its members. These remarks have a more practical bearing than might at first sight appear. And to illustrate this I will suppose this confusion between the intellectual and religious life of the nation done away with. I will imagine the universities to be thrown entirely and unreservedly open to Christian, Jew, Turk, or Infidel, and to be maintained simply as a secular institution—the highest expression of the nation's intellectual life. I will suppose that after a fair and open competition, or by any other impartial process, three distinguished students are admitted to fellowships, offering them a comfortable maintenance—or at least a good start in life. One of them is a follower of Dr. Cumming, and believes that fellowship will be sufficient for his wants till the end of the world. A second is an enthusiastic follower of Colenso; and a third a disciple of Mr. Holyoake. By such an arrangement, the State would undoubtedly be fostering intellectual freedom; perhaps to a much greater degree than those who sigh after "comprehension" would desire. It says to these men in effect, "Make use of your well-earned leisure to enrich the national intellect. It is altogether for you to say how you will do it. With your opinions we have nothing whatever to do." One man might write a defence of verbal inspiration; another an essay on the church of the future; and a third a demonstration that mind is nothing but vibrations of brain tissue. The government would do its duty in protecting impartially all alike from any popular attack on their position. But this is a matter of *intellectual* freedom, with which religion has nothing whatever to do, except to pronounce it right and just, according to God's plan for the progress of the world. Where then does *religious* freedom come in? Suppose a young man to have read the third work, on the mind and brain, and to be much disturbed by what seems a refutation of spiritual life and immortality. Who is to help him? He may have a wise father, he may have clever friends, but the man most likely for him is the Christian pastor whose words have gone home to his heart. Now mark that in such a relationship everything depends on its free and voluntary nature. It is through spiritual sympathy, because the young man has felt his words, that he goes to him. The Christian teacher shows him that all scientific facts in this formidable work may be frankly and fearlessly acknowledged; that they are but phenomena of the unknown substance of the world; and that faith belongs to the substance of our own life, which is of one piece with the universe. He urges, and he shows by his own fearless confidence and godly life, that faith is entirely independent of contingent opinions about the relations of mind with nerve vibrations. This is something new now. This is *religious* freedom, as distinguished from intellectual, a subtle gift belonging to the hidden life of men which no government can touch. Of course there must be very intimate relationships between this intellectual and this religious life. And as the religious life is always essentially the same, while the intellectual varies from one generation to another, there will be constant need of adjustment between the two. But this is a process of exceeding delicacy, which the mind can hardly follow, still less can any act of Parliament prescribe. One age thought it blasphemy to say that the earth went round the sun. Another age had accustomed itself to the truths of astronomy, and could read about the sun "coming out of his chamber, and rejoicing as a strong man to run a race," without any sense of incongruity between faith and science. How do the "common people" who always hear the Saviour gladly, manage thus to adjust the bearings

of their intellectual and religious life? It is one of those secrets of the heart which are only known in their fulness to the Maker of us all. It is one of those processes of life, in which the closest analysis always leaves some essential element undiscovered. It is like the yielding of the hard nutshell to the tender expanding germ within. It is like the homologous growth of every part in the healthy child. How clumsy and arbitrary compared with such process is the proposal of Sir John Coleridge, for periodical Acts of Parliament to adjust the intellectual and religious life of the nation! As well might a father periodically stretch his children out upon the rack, for fear their souls would grow too big for their bodies. It is only clothes—old clothes—that need lengthening out by mechanical work. Life does all the rest. So it is but institutions, universities, schools, and such like, the old clothes of the nation, that want patching here, and lengthening there, to cover young England's growing strength. But leave the life alone. It will take care of itself. Nor ever fear that religious freedom, unprotected, will not have the energy to adjust itself to growing intellectual life. That there must be suffering in the process no one denies. But genuine religious freedom can be attained in no other way than by the sympathy and confidence which are generated only in the free play of selective affinities which no government can control. Talk of the failure of free religious teaching for want of popular sympathy! Whence came the defence funds of Essayists and Reviewers—Colenso, Voysey? From what quarter come the cheers that hail Frederic Temple Bishop of Exeter? Ah! had he been elected by the suffrages of the people in a freely developed religious life, he would never have needed to withdraw as bishop what he published as school teacher. Let us believe in God. Let us trust God's life to flow through and enlarge human hearts. Let us thankfully apply to the collection of knowledge, the resources which belong to the nation, not to a sect. And the living heart of Christ amongst us will never fail to beat to every new emotion of wonder, and every thrill of delight at the expanding vision of the world.

When the cheers which followed the reading of this paper had subsided, the CHAIRMAN said the subject so ably introduced by Mr. Picton was now open for the free discussion of the meeting, with only one condition—that no speaker on either side should occupy more than ten minutes.

Mr. LAYCOCK then rose to ask a question. The gentleman who had read the paper had objected to the obligation of the clergy to subscribe the Articles of the Established Church. He wished to be informed if Dissenting ministers were not required to sign some creed before they were admitted to the ministerial office?

Mr. PICTON replied that he had never signed a creed, that he had never been asked to do so, and that if he were, he never would consent.

Dr. SPENCE said that he had been twenty-five years an Independent minister, and that he had never subscribed a creed in his life.

Mr. LAYCOCK asked, if that were so, would they appoint a minister who had no belief? (Loud laughter, and cries of "No, no.")

The Rev. T. V. TYMMS, of Clapton, must add his testimony, as a Baptist minister, to the fact that Dissenting churches, as a rule, imposed no creed upon their ministers. It was understood that when a student went to a denominational college—Regent's Park, for instance, where he himself was educated for the ministry—that he held substantially the views of the denomination. If he did not, he had no business there, since the college was established for a special purpose, and was maintained by voluntary contributions. There were "lay" as well as ministerial students there, however, and in the case of laymen no distinct form of religious belief, either expressed or implied, was necessary as a term of admission.

Mr. W. GREEN asked whether Mr. Laycock could not see the essential difference between the two cases? The Church was supported by the State, Dissent was maintained by its own money. The Church of England did not number more than half the people—in some districts a great deal less than half—and it was not to be endured that the property of the nation should be wasted in the maintenance of so unjust an institution. Looking at the great diversities in the religious teaching of the Church, the system was as foolish as to pay one man for infecting the people with scarlet fever, and another to cure them of that dire disorder. (Hear, hear.) They had nothing to do, however, with High Church, Broad-Church, or Low Church, with bishops, deans, or chapters; if Episcopalians chose to clothe their religious life in those forms, Dissenters had no right, nor had they any wish, to interfere; but they would resist the tyranny of compelling them to pay for the religion of the richest part of the community. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hoon contended that great tyranny had been exercised by some of the committees of Dissenting colleges. He knew one from which three young men had been expelled because of the "unsoundness" of their doctrinal opinions; and another, which two of its best scholars were obliged to leave because they differed from the creed of the authorities. In fact, there was only one college in England and one in Holland where creeds were not enforced as tests of membership. The German colleges indeed were free, but these were the exceptions to the rest of Europe. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HENNESSY objected to the Church Establishment because it was too comprehensive. The Church should be not only the depository but the exponent of truth; but there was no diversity in truth, and a Church that sanctioned two such teachers as Colenso and Mackenzie had ceased to be the guardian of

the faith, and should at once relinquish all the privileges it enjoyed by virtue of its union with the State. (Hear.) He could not see how Mr. Picton and himself could both be Christians.

Mr. C. GREEN said he should like to know in what respect the Free Church principle had favoured freedom of thought on religious subjects? When had the Dissenters given to the world a book like "Essays and Reviews"? What was their treatment of Dr. Davidson—a man of profound learning, of extensive research, and far superior in Biblical knowledge to any Dissenter of the present day? What assembly of Dissenting ministers would have dared to ask for a commission to prepare a new translation of the Bible? (Cheers.) He was himself a Dissenter. (Loud laughter, in the midst of which the tinkle of the chairman's bell apprised the speaker that his ten minutes had expired; and he at once resumed his seat.)

Mr. WILKINSON repeated what he had said at the conference held at Islington last week, and sat down reiterating that, even now, he failed "to see the fundamental iniquity of an Established Church." (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. H. M. HEATH exhorted the young men present to make themselves masters of this great question, and especially in its spiritual aspects. It was that view of the subject, as presented to his mind by the teaching of Mr. Edward Miall, that had made him an earnest voluntary; and, apart from that, he felt that he should take but very little interest in the matter. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS was surprised to hear the statements made by Mr. Charles Green, but he would not be guilty of the folly of attempting, in the time allotted to him, to disprove the singular assertions of the speaker. Certainly his reading of ecclesiastical history had been very different from Mr. Green's; for he had always learned that the Dissenters were the champions of free thought, and had suffered martyrdom for their devotion to the cause of liberty of conscience. (Cheers.)

Mr. GREEN here interposed by remarking, that he had qualified his statement by limiting his observations to the last fifty years.

Mr. WILLIAMS: Oh, that's it, is it? The last fifty years! And so the Established Church continued persecuting all who had the manliness and the intelligence to differ from her and proclaim the grounds of their Dissent, so long as they were few and feeble; but when they grew in number and in power, and were able to resist her dominance and her exactions, she felt her claws were cut, and tried to smooth them with her velvet paws. (Great cheering.) Mr. Green has spoken of the toleration of the Essayists and the Reviewers, but he has failed to tell you that their book has been condemned by both Houses of Convocation; and as to Dr. Colenso, the great majority of the bishops and the clergy would go down on their knees and thank God if they could get rid of him at once and for ever. Read the canons of the Church, and you will find that every epithet of disparagement, if not of something worse, is hurled with vengeance at the heads of those who dare to exercise free thought or act in any way in opposition to the dicta of the Church. They say we are in error; but, if we are, we at least maintain our errors at our own expense, and have no desire that those who differ from us should endow them. Then look at the subscription forced upon the clergy—think of that quotation from the pen of Mr. Wilson, himself a minister of the Established Church—reflect upon the injury to public morals which such a canon of interpretation must of necessity inflict, and tell us if we are not justified in seeking to redeem the Church from the intolerable bondage of State patronage and control! As surely as the Church in Ireland has been delivered from her thralldom, so surely shall we hail the auspicious day when the Church of England shall be disendowed and disestablished. (Cheers.)

Other gentlemen briefly addressed the meeting, and after a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Picton, and the usual compliments to the chairman, the Conference was brought to a conclusion.

THE IRISH CHURCH CONVENTION.

The General Convention of the Church of Ireland commenced its sittings on Tuesday, February 15th, in the Ancient Concert Hall, Dublin. There was a very full attendance of delegates, and as the discussion of the Draft Constitution to be submitted for the approval of the Convention had been carried on with great vigour in the columns of the newspapers during the preceding ten days, great interest was felt in the proceedings. These were characterised by great decorum. The PRIMATE, who presided, in opening the proceedings, explained the motives which had actuated the convenors of the assembly in fixing it for that date. He impressed on them the necessity of the appointment as soon as possible of the Representative Body of the Church, without which they could not obtain a charter, legally become possessed of the churches, glebe-houses, or lands, or carry out a scheme of commutation. Poverty was advancing on them like an armed man. Already not a few benefices were vacant, and although in thickly-populated districts there might be little difficulty thereby created, it would be impossible in rural districts for the inhabitants to maintain the churches in full operation without extraneous aid. That aid could not be well provided until they were reorganised. The Earl of COURTRON moved the adoption of the first standing order, which provided for separate consultation by the separate orders—bishops, clergy, and laity. He believed this was rendered necessary by the terms of the 19th and 22nd sections of the Church Act. He deprecated the notion that they should, as some proposed, seek to

act independently of the provisions of that Act. Such a course might cause some additional embarrassment to the Government and the Prime Minister, but he was at a loss to see what good it could do to the Church. He believed that if they refused to accord to the bishops, clergy, and laity, the liberty of giving a separate vote, no charter could be granted. A separate vote was granted to the bishops by every other branch of their Church, and he knew no reason why in their case they should act differently. He believed that the proposal "that the bishops should always vote separately, and the two other orders together, unless when separate voting was demanded," was in accordance with the resolution passed at the Lay Conference, which was to the effect "that in the opinion of that meeting, the clerical and lay delegates should sit and discuss all questions together; and at the general sitting the right of voting by orders should be conceded, if demanded by either order. (Loud cries of "Either order.") He did not see how the bishop, sitting in virtue of his office, could be regarded as a representative, and he contended that the question had been left an open question by the Lay Conference. Mr. W. SPAIGHT, in moving an amendment to the effect "that the bishops and clerical and lay representatives shall meet in the same chamber for the discussion and transaction of business," contended that the Draft Constitution excluded that just influence of the laity which they believed to be essential to the vitality and well-being of the Church. At the Lay Conference, the vote of the bishops had been left out of discussion for the sake of peace, but it was the general opinion that the Conference was merely affirming the principle of two orders. The Rev. Mr. GALBRAITH, F.T.C.D., seconded the amendment, which was supported by the Rev. Dr. Reichel, and after some discussion was carried by a large majority. The Hon. C. BUTLER, in moving an amendment to the third standing order, "That there shall be voting by three orders," said he had been induced at the Lay Conference to vote in favour of voting by orders, although it was against his own opinion, on the ground that without such a vote the double lay representation would overpower the clergy. But he had done so on the distinct understanding that there would be only two orders—the clerical, including the episcopal, and the lay. He moved

That the bishops, clergy, and laity shall vote conjointly, except when separate voting is demanded by either order.

This amendment was seconded by Mr. JOHN MADDEN, of Hilton Park, and was still under discussion when the Convention adjourned.

On Wednesday the adjourned debate on Clause 3, respecting the separate vote of the Bishop, was continued by the Dean of Down, who, whilst according the highest spiritual authority to the bishops, was strongly in favour of their voting with the clergy, and not as a separate body. He was followed by the Bishop of DERRY, who, in an eloquent address, pointed out the effects that would be produced should the amendment be carried. He considered that the real danger that lay before the Church of Ireland was not that which was likely to arise from episcopal assumption, but rather that which might proceed from the usurpation of tyrannical majorities. There was far less danger of our petrifying into an oligarchy than of our disorganising into a rabble. Christianity was not merely a moral influence, or a spiritual enthusiasm; it was not a mere creed or doctrine, but it was a visible organisation, with an active and continuous life. Episcopacy had given the Church that colossal coherence which had now lasted for nineteen centuries. He did not ask them for rank or riches; he had more of both than either he desired or deserved; but he asked the Irish laity to trust their bishops, and with generous confidence accord to them their due. Master BROOKS then followed in a dry legal argument, affirming that the bishops had no separate vote since the Reformation, but this was not received with much favour by the Convention. The Archbishop of DUBLIN explained that the bishops did not consider themselves bound by the details of the Draft Constitution, but that they were prepared to consider any reasonable proposition that might be brought before them. Lord DUNSANY considered a separate episcopal vote not only essential, but also beneficial and invaluable. Mr. ROBERT HAMILTON, of Belfast, said that a victory on either side would be disastrous, and proposed a compromise. The most effective speech of the day was made by Professor JELLETT, who thought that two distinct questions had been mixed up—the separate vote of the bishops and what legislative power should be assigned to them. He proposed that the separate vote should be at once granted, and the other question postponed till Clause 29 came on for consideration.

Sir J. NAPIER declared that it was his own opinion, and that also of eminent lawyers whom he had consulted, that the bishops must vote separately, or the 22nd section of the Irish Church Act could not be carried out. He also read an opinion of Sir Roundell Palmer's, strongly in favour of his view, and asserting that a separate House of Bishops was absolutely required by the terms of the Act. The debate was subsequently continued by Dr. Trail, Dr. Romney Robinson, the Rev. G. A. Chadwick, Mr. Bence Jones, the Hon. and Rev. W. C. Plunket, the Dean of Cashel, Earl of Bandon, Dr. Foley, and Lord Lifford. The Bishop of Cork made a strong and energetic appeal to the Convention in favour of the bishops' separate vote. He declared that the bishops, one and all, were united on the question, and would by no means surrender their episcopal rights. After considerable discussion, it was finally agreed, on the motion of General DUNNE, seconded by Dr. REICHEL, to adjourn the further consideration of the question till Friday. The consideration of

the other standing orders will then be proceeded with.

Thursday's sitting was occupied with unimportant standing orders; the consideration of the twenty-ninth standing order, conferring unlimited power of veto on the bishops, being deferred till Saturday, on the motion of the Duke of Abercorn, who stated that he hoped by private consultation they might be enabled to bring forward a proposal that would be satisfactory to all.

When the Convention met on Friday the Duke announced that he had ascertained the opinions of the prelates, but that time had not permitted him to become acquainted with those of the clergy and laity. He accordingly moved the adjournment of the Convention till half-past one. This was agreed to, and a conference of certain selected clerical and lay delegates meanwhile was held. On the reassembling of the Convention, the Duke of ABERCORN moved, and the Duke of MANCHESTER seconded, that the following resolution, which had received the assent of the bishops, should be adopted by the Convention and added to Clause 29:—

Provided always that when any motion has been carried by a majority of each of the other orders voting separately, or of both voting together, it shall be necessary that seven of the existing bishops shall be present, and shall concur in any vote dissentient from that of the other two orders, in order to reject the motion.

To this an amendment was moved by the Dean of CASHEL, and seconded by Dr. HART, F.T.C.D., to the following effect:—

That no measure or resolution shall pass the Convention if a majority of the members (present and voting) of any one of the three orders shall vote against it. Provided always that when any measure or resolution shall have received the assent of two-thirds of the other two orders (present and voting) it shall be put to the vote of the whole Convention voting conjointly, and if it receives the assent of a majority the aforesaid measure shall pass.

The Dean of CASHEL, in moving this amendment, said that whilst willing to give the bishops a separate vote, he did not consider that an unlimited veto was essential to the right execution of the episcopal office; and he argued that it was a strong point in favour of his amendment that it gave a veto to every order. The Bishop of MEATH opposed the Dean of Cashel's amendment, and said that all the bishops were fully agreed in that opposition. From the earliest times to the present there had been no such limitation as proposed on the bishops' veto, and they could not accept it. If such an amendment was passed by the convention, we should soon cease to have independent, self-respecting, and self-respected bishops. The Bishop of TUAM subsequently defined Protestantism, not as a wild confusion of every "ism," but as it appeared in the beautiful garments of our ancient and Reformed Church, and urged that many in their zeal for Protestantism were attempting to lower the episcopate, in fact leading us back to Rome. The Dean of Cashel's amendment was also opposed by the Rev. R. Hannay, of Belfast; Rev. J. N. Griffin, D.D.; Dr. Salmon, Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College; and supported by Major F. Ffolliott, the Hon. and Rev. Wm. Plunket, Professor Jellett, and Mr. Bloomfield. On a division being called for—the clergy and laity voting conjointly—the amendment was rejected by 379 to 212. This vote virtually decided the separate vote and veto of the bishops. The Duke of Abercorn's amendment was subsequently put and carried, but the House adjourned before finally passing Clause 29. The bishops themselves did not vote.

At Saturday's sitting the discussion was continued. In the course of the proceedings objections were taken to the manner of the voting on the preceding day. After remarks and explanations by General Dunne, the Primate, Lord Leitrim, and the Duke of Manchester, Mr. TEMPLAR, speaking as a Northern delegate, said he had voted against the Dean of Cashel's amendment, but he did not therefore concede an "absolute veto" to the bishops. He took his stand against that. The Dean's amendment had proposed to provide that when two-thirds of the lay order and also two-thirds of the clerical order agreed in a vote, and the bishops opposed it, the resolution should be submitted to the Convention voting conjointly, and passed if a majority assented. This motion was lost. Lord ABERCORN proposed to add instead—

That, where any motion has been carried by a majority of each of the other orders present, and voting, it shall pass, unless at least seven of the existing bishops present, and voting, shall concur in a dissentient vote.

The bishops had privately agreed to this compromise. The consideration of the 29th clause was then proceeded with. It runs:—

No question shall be decided except by a majority of the clerical and lay representatives present, whether voting conjointly or separately.

The Duke of MANCHESTER "pleaded earnestly" in favour of the clause as amended by the Duke of Abercorn. The debate was unfinished at the hour of adjournment.

On Saturday the Convocation adopted, without a division, the 29th standing order, relating to the bishops' veto, as amended by the Duke of Abercorn.

On Monday the assembly considered the preamble, and passed several clauses, in one instance inserting by a large majority the words "or presbyter" after "priest" as explanatory of the latter term.

THE BURIALS BILL.

It is thought to be desirable that this bill—which we printed last week—should be well supported by petitions, and especially by petitions from the rural parishes where there is no parochial cemetery, and the churchyard is, and is likely to continue to be, the only burial-place.

The following form of petition and directions may be useful to those who wish to aid in the work:—

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain

and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned [members of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, assembling at] Chapel, in the County of [or, inhabitants of] in the County of [assembled at]

Sheweth:

That, your petitioners consider the present state of the law in regard to burials in churchyards to be unjust, and to be productive of many painful results.

That, while the parochial churchyards are public property, and all parties have the right of burial therein, the only burial service which can be performed is that of the Church of England, and the only persons allowed to officiate are the clergy of that Church.

That Nonconformists deem it a great hardship to be denied the right of avail themselves of the services of their own ministers in the interment of their relatives.

That, as the Established clergy may lawfully refuse to read the Burial Service in the case of unbaptised persons, such persons are frequently buried without any service, and that much painful feeling is thereby occasioned.

That, as they believe the Bill to amend the laws relating to Burial, now before your honourable House, would effect the object which they desire, they pray that it may be passed into a law.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Preparation of Petitions.—As the resemblance of petitions to each other is in every case reported upon by the Petition Committee of the House of Commons, it is important that the forms used should be as varied as possible. The subjoined forms are, therefore, furnished simply by way of suggestion, and as an assistance in the preparation of others. Petitions must be written, and not printed or lithographed. They must conclude with a prayer. They must not contain erasures or interlineations.

Signing of Petitions.—At least one signature must be attached to the sheet on which the petition is written; and the sheets containing the other signatures should be pasted on to follow, so that the whole may form a roll. Except in the case of sick persons, no one must sign for another. Petitions may be signed by females; but it is not desirable that they should be signed by minors. Except in the case of small places, it is well to add the addresses to the names.

Presentation of Petitions.—Petitions may be sent post-free, if they are sent open at the ends, are addressed to a Member of Parliament, and are marked "Petition to Parliament." It is desirable that they should, as a rule, be presented by a member representing the locality from which they emanate; and that, when the petition is posted, he should be informed of the fact by letter. The town addresses of members may be ascertained on application to the Liberation Society; or communications may be addressed to the "House of Commons, London."

THE COUNCIL AT ROME.

The announcement that diplomatic despatches have been sent to Rome respecting the dogma of infallibility from France, Austria, and Bavaria, is denied. Count Daru, French Minister for Foreign affairs, however, is said to have sent a letter to a friend in Rome upon the subject of the debates in the Ecumenical Council. Count Daru says that his devotion to the Holy See is beyond suspicion, but he hopes that imprudent acts will not embarrass his position. The French Government is a free Government, he adds, and is obliged to pay serious heed to public opinion. The Council ought, therefore, to be prudent, or the Ministry might be forced, by a vote of the Chamber, to recall the French troops from Civita Vecchia. Count Daru expresses the opinion, in conclusion, that just now there is too much excitement and passion in Rome, and that it would be well for the Council to adjourn.

It is asserted that Count Beust, on his own responsibility, has made a most earnest representation to the Holy See respecting the twenty-one Canons recently voted by the Ecumenical Council, and has lodged a formal protest against any practical consequences which might be drawn from these or similar votes of the Council.

According to a telegram from Rome of Monday's date, the rumour that the Council will shortly be adjourned is confirmed. *La Presse* alludes to a letter from the Archbishop of Paris, "which seems to indicate a suspension of the sittings of the Council." The telegraph also brings rumours to the same effect from Vienna. Cardinal Rauscher is said to have given notice that he will shortly return to Vienna, and an adjournment till December is freely mentioned.

The correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, writing from Rome, Feb. 9, says:—"For some days past the Pope has been very unwell. He has been twice attacked in the night by his old complaint, and obliged to ring for help. He looks very haggard; but it is his custom, when he receives strangers, to rouge his cheeks, so that the traces of illness are not seen."

Pius IX. does not apparently swerve from his well-known views. At the opening of the "Christian Exhibition" on the 17th he spoke of certain men who mooted the propriety of reforms in the Church. These men, he said, talked worse than nonsense—they talked downright blasphemy; and this expression from his lips was instantaneously responded to with enthusiastic shouts from the bystanders of "Viva il Papa Rè; viva il Papa infallibile!"

The exorbitant pretensions of the irreconcilable advocates of Ultramontanism have, it is said, produced an unfavourable impression on the Armenian

community. By a large majority they have resolved to secede from the authority of their Patriarch, Mgr. Hassoun. They do not think he has shown sufficient energy in defending the secular privileges of the Oriental Catholics against the encroachments of the Roman Court. Despatches from Constantinople state that the Sultan has approved of this resolution, and that the affair has caused great disquietude at Rome. The Pope has despatched Monsignor Plugin to Constantinople with special powers, in the hope of putting an end to the schism which has arisen in the Armenian community.

The special correspondent of the *Times* describes a remarkable scene that took place in the Council on Tuesday week:—

The voices were very loud; the bell rang several times; there was a false break-up; the doors opened, the Swiss Guard, the servants of the bishops and cardinals—all host of them—and a considerable crowd of people, all hastened to the entrance of the Council Hall; the doors were closed again, and remained closed for ten minutes; then came out the Fathers, all excited, some looking determined, most very uncomfortable. I did not write all this, because if nothing came of it I should have been presenting you with a mare's nest. But here is the explanation. The speaker was Ghilardi, Bishop of Mondovi, the same man who some years ago preached in the Duomo at Milan, and gave such offence that a bomb was fired under the pulpit. His speech was a studied and very unsparing philippic against the leaders of the Opposition. The tone at first was that of a homily, paternal and unctuous, but Ghilardi soon followed a more natural vein. He told the Gallican and German chiefs that they were creating discord in the Council, and then proclaiming it to all the world. This, he said, was intolerable, and an end must be put to it. Such men were converting a most suspicious design into a scandal and cause of offence. He charged them with pride, with ignorance, with downright impudence—*impudicisca*—and, as far as he could venture to say it, with heresy. The objects of his attack found it rather too much for their patience, and exclaimed, in a great variety of languages, that they had had enough of this, and would listen no more. The Legate rang his bell several times, but each side took the rebuke as addressed to the other, and the more he rang his bell, the louder Ghilardi declaimed, and the more, too, did the French and Germans try to shout him down. They took to stamping on the floor and to beating the benches;—and I must remind you that among other privations the Fathers are sitting on hard boards covered with Brussels carpeting. Then all at once they rose up, as if to rush out of the hall, addressing angry ejaculations to the Italian as they passed the pulpit, and it is positively asserted shaking their fists at him—more likely the bundles of *Schemata* I saw them grasping with something like a quiver of emotion. At the appearance of the flying crowd between the two screens, the door-keepers threw open the great doors, but by the time I had got there, with everybody else in the church, the doors were closed again. The Legate had managed to recall the fugitives, though the declaimer went on, and did go on, they say, even when the Council, after a formal dismissal, was finally leaving the hall.

The same writer declares that the vast majority of the Fathers would jump for joy and sing a song of thanksgiving if they heard that the Council was suddenly dissolved. "These Fathers wish no calamity to Rome, but if by some special intervention Rome could only be reminded that she is mortal, and, still more, if she should find a little leisure necessary for the reconsideration of her Pontifical code, they would be the happiest men under the sun. It is not the leader or the rank and file of this or that national section that prays for deliverance; it is the mass of them—all, except the few who have been making this matter the meat and drink of their souls for the last dozen or twenty years, and who have vowed to make Rome absolute, or die in the attempt." The writer adds in a subsequent letter:—"I hear, again, that it is an understood thing, and thoroughly realised by all the Fathers in the Council, that if they will accept the Pope's Infallibility they may be released by Easter; but that, if they will not, they are to be cast into the burning fiery furnace of a Roman July."

There does not seem to be any abatement of the opposition to the Vatican. In respect to the Little Catechism, there are seventy-seven speakers down on the list. Cardinal Antonelli is horrified and alarmed. In consequence of the protracted discussions, it is stated that two additional clauses to the regulating ordinance are to be communicated to the bishops.

By the one they are enjoined henceforth to communicate any remarks they may wish to make only in writing, deposited with the stenographers, who will then make a *précis* for the benefit of the Commission. By the second, rediscussion is prohibited of Decrees on their return from the Commission, the Fathers being thus restricted to a simple vote of *placet* or *non-placet*. The announcement of these intentions has been productive of indescribable exasperation. I can affirm that the French bishops have declared them a wanton violation of their indelible rights, and that a number of their body have addressed to the Ambassador a request that he would telegraph to Paris their petition for protection against so unjustifiable a proceeding. The immense gravity of such an application—a cry of distress from bishops in Council to a civil force—is sufficiently apparent.

It is also stated that the last publication of Dr. Döllinger has been referred to a Roman divine for examination preparatory to censure. On Thursday, February 9, the matter was brought under discussion at a meeting of the German bishops. Two Rhenish prelates, of conspicuous position, proposed that the German Episcopate should put forth a corporate repudiation of the views enunciated by the Munich divine. The meeting was a full one, but the position of the two prelates was rejected without a division.

There are some signs of yielding on the part of the Pope and his advisers. The odious canons (which

we published last week) are, it is rumoured, to be withdrawn. On the other hand, infallibility is not absolutely given up. "Already," it is said, "there are flying about several specious forms of definition concurrently with the intimation that the *Schema de Ecclesiâ* will be withdrawn, one of these being circulated by a prelate of singularly supple powers and plausible language—Monsieur Mermeillod, Bishop of Geneva—which proposes to declare the Pope infallible when he speaks *tangam os et organon ecclesie*—a mere play of words, constituting a snare to catch willing dupes." It is generally felt that the Council must sit until it has done something, and the Jesuits are resolved that, in whatever it does, there shall be contained some decided augmentation and definition of the Papal authority. One of the most obnoxious of these proposals comprises the regulations sought to be imposed on the Episcopate—

It is not only proposed that no bishop shall absent himself from his see, for however short a time, except with the Pope's express leave; but they are to be prohibited from attending even political assemblies of which, by the constitution of their countries, they may happen to be members in virtue of their dignity, on the ground that existing general assemblies are no longer in conformity with their original nature as sanctioned by former Popes. What, perhaps, has given the deepest offence is, however, the pretension to claim for the Holy See the right of presentation during vacancy of a see to all pieces of preferment in the gift of the Bishop, and the proposed limitation of Episcopal authority in the granting of dispensations, which, by referring to Rome many cases hitherto disposed of on the spot, will indirectly add to the charges of petitioners, but also increase the receipts of the Roman Dataria.

In reference to these regulations, a French prelate of high rank is said to have exclaimed:—"The only thing that still remains to be done is to send us henceforth all ready blessed from Rome the holy water for our use."

The Pope has commenced a raid on the newspaper correspondents. One of them writes:—"I am told in official spheres that he has decided to expel from the Pontifical States the correspondents of the *Times*, the *Cologne Gazette*, and the *New Free Press* of Vienna; and the correspondent of the *Times* is said to have already received notice to depart. M. Dressel, the correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, is permitted to remain a few days to arrange his affairs; and the Pope is so far mollified towards Father Fredericks as to be content with his dismissal by Cardinal Hohenlohe. Suspicion has fallen on Father Nicholas Worsak, theologian to Monsignor Strossmeyer, and one of the assignatori of the Council, who, as well as Monsignor Regnani, chamberlain of honour to his Holiness, has been dismissed from his post. The imputation on these functionaries is that they have not only given information to newspapers, but have furnished copies of documents before the Council to the diplomatic corps. On the day after the distribution to the fathers of the project *De Ecclesiâ*, Count Tauffkirchen, Minister of Bavaria, protested to a German bishop against two of the propositions in that scheme, when the bishop, greatly confused to find the count in possession of this information, expressed a doubt as to the perfect exactness of his statement. Count Tauffkirchen instantly took from his desk a copy of the official document and pointed out the two propositions. The bishop thought it his duty to report the incident to the Pope, and hence arose inquiries which led to the dismissal of the functionaries I have named."

Mention has already been made of a pretended bishop who had ventured to take part in the proceedings of the Ecumenical Council. The correspondent of the *Univers* confirms the fact, and gives the following details upon the authority of the Roman police:—"The person in question engaged a tailor in Rome to make him the complete costume of an Oriental bishop. When the costume was finished the ill-advised joker dressed himself up, and at one of the sittings of the congregation made his way into the hall of the Council, and sitting there with grave face and modest looks, listened attentively to the addresses, sometimes affecting by respectful gestures to express his admiration of certain remarks. This disgraceful fraud he repeated on several occasions. At length, however, he was discovered. The gendarmes warned and posted for the purpose seized him, and he is now in a Roman prison, to which the tailor has also been consigned."

REVISION OF THE BIBLE.

Archdeacon Allen argues in favour of alterations in the English text of the Bible. He holds that all the pleas against revision are answered in the preface to the translations themselves. What is desired is that in the margin should be printed such words as would seem to nine out of ten competent scholars, if empannelled as a jury, to be amendments. Words that have a coarser meaning now than two hundred and sixty years ago should be changed. The same person ought to be designated by the same name in the Old and New Testaments. Words which modern criticism has shown to be not in the original text should be omitted. And certain other blemishes in the translation might be removed.

In a recent number of the *Guardian* the Rev. Ed. Smart, of Munster-square, defended the Athanasian Creed on the authority of the text Mark xvi. 16—"He that believeth not shall be damned," and asked, "Who shall dare to say that it is not part of the Gospel?" Dr. Littledale writes in the *Guardian* of this week—"I dare for one, and so will everybody else who is familiar with one of the most rudimentary facts in New Testament criticism, that the verse in question is not found in a single one of the older Greek MSS."

In a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* the Bishop of

St. David corrects a misreport of his speech in Convocation. He says:—

I never said "that no mere verbal or grammatical alterations in the Bible would affect any doctrine of the Church of England"; but that no doctrine of the Church of England would, in my belief, be affected in any improvement that could be made in the Authorised Version. I might have added that, unless those doctrines were deduced from the translation, and not from the original Scriptures, they could not be affected by a more correct and faithful rendering of the original text. You, Sir, had indeed good reason to be "surprised" that I should have said "that Dissenters had anything to fear from a correct translation of the Bible." I do not even understand Lord Shaftesbury to have said that. But, for my own part, nothing could be farther from my thoughts. I observed, indeed, that the effect of a more correct translation might be to deprive preachers, Churchmen as well as Dissenters, of some favourite texts, to which they might look with some regret, which might prejudice them against the revised translation, and that it was therefore the more desirable that some of the more eminent Nonconformists should be associated with Churchmen in the work.

I entirely agree with you in your concluding remarks on a part of Lord Shaftesbury's letter to the *Times*, in which, meaning apparently to raise an objection to the revision, he has unconsciously argued in its favour.

On Friday Mr. C. Buxton is to ask whether her Majesty's Government would take into consideration the propriety of appointing a commission with a view to a revision of the present translation of the Bible.

THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER died at the episcopal residence in that city on Monday. The right rev. prelate was eighty-three years of age, and was consecrated in 1842. The value of the see is £2,000 a year. He had long been unwell.

IS THIS A LIBEL?—Nobody seems to get so hungry about dinner-time as a bishop. Other Peers of Parliament you may retain until after the usual dinner hour; but the episcopal bench have premonitory symptoms which must be attended to, and cart-ropes will hardly hold them to their seats after seven p.m.—Scolesman.

OPENING OF DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.—The *Dublin Express* believes that Lord Cairns presented a document to Mr. Gladstone on Saturday, signed by the Provost, Senior Fellows, Junior Fellows, and Professors of Trinity College, Dublin, stating that, in their opinion, the Fellowships of Trinity College should, without delay, be opened to all, without regard to religious creed.

THE GREEK ARCHBISHOP.—On Thursday the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos by the University of Cambridge. The degree was presented to the Archbishop by the Public Orator, who delivered an address in the Greek language. The Archimandrites of Syra and the Greek Church in Liverpool received the honorary degree of M.A. On Saturday the University of Oxford conferred a similar degree on Archbishop Lycurgus.

THE JAMAICA CHURCH SYNOD.—The Synod assembled at Kingston on the 13th ultimo. It proceeded to discuss the future government of the Church, and passed the following articles of Constitution:—"In the absence of any provincial union of the West Indian Dioceses, we desire that an appeal should lie to the See of Canterbury in all matters affecting the fundamental doctrines or discipline of the Church, and that the union and communion of this Church with the Church of England should be by all means preserved and strengthened. The Synod shall consist of the bishop, the clergy, and the representatives of the laity, chosen as herein-after provided; and the same shall meet once at least annually. That every congregation containing fifty communicants should elect one lay representative, and every congregation having 200 communicants or more, two representatives, this number being a maximum of all congregations."

THE USE OF THE SURPLICE.—The Bishop of Lichfield has issued a letter to that portion of the people of his diocese who reside in Wolverhampton. In it his lordship declares that the clergy have now a right, fully established by law, to wear the surplice in all their ministrations in church. Dr. Selwyn thinks it proper to make known this fact, as the parishioners of Mr. Prior's (St. George's) church continue to manifest their disapproval of his costume in the pulpit. The Bishop concludes his letter as follows:—"I cannot allow libellous and unfounded charges and imputations to be circulated against Mr. Prior without warning the authors of them they are breaking the law both of God and man. I have carefully investigated the charge against him, and have pronounced them to be groundless. I believe Mr. Prior to be a faithful servant of his Divine Master, and a true and loyal minister of the English Church."

RITUALISM.—WHAT THE LAW ALLOWS AND DISALLOWS.—The English Church Union have published a report which shows that the courts of law have condemned the following practices—processions, candle (lighted), blessing candles, incense, palms, mixed chalice, elevation of chalice, prostration, sign of the + by minister, kissing the Gospel, cope at M. or E. prayer, albs, tippets, stoles, Dalmatics, Maniples. To these are added—metallic crucifixes, figure of the infant Saviour, stuffed dove on Whitsunday, collects read with back to the people. These are admitted to be the decisions bearing the trade mark of Sir Robert Phillimore, although, to a certain extent, acting under pressure of the Supreme Court of Appeal. The report then shows to what extent the Ritualistic innovations are yet tolerated; and it appears that Sir Robert Phillimore still leaves them in possession—1. Of such vestments as were used in the second year of Edward VI. 2. Of the surplice

which in all other services is to be worn (and it is noted that, by an *obiter dictum*, the black gown was condemned). 3. The biretta, or coloured nightcap. 4. Wafer-bread. 5. The administration of wine mixed with a little water (*i.e.*, provided the water is only mixed clandestinely). 6. Floral decorations. 7. Prayer of consecration, with back to the people. 8. Water-stoups for holy water, provided the water is not blessed publicly or the stoups placed by the minister. The report also infers from Sir R. Philimore's judgment that the present dress of the bishops is not that which the law prescribes.

DR. TEMPLE'S EXPLANATION.—The Bishop of Exeter writes to the *Times*:—"I think it due to Archdeacon Freeman to say that he was fully justified by the letter which he had received in making the authoritative announcement concerning 'Essays and Reviews' which he made in Convocation, and that the writer of that letter was fully justified in writing it. I had not intended any such announcement to be made, and it took me by surprise; but the making of it was owing, as I have since ascertained, to my own carelessness, and to nothing else, for the authority given both to the Archdeacon and to his informant was full. I am sorry for any annoyance that this carelessness of mine may have caused to either." The Bishop of Exeter was on Friday elected a Vice-President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. An attempt at opposition was made by the son of Canon Trevor, but it collapsed. Archdeacon Parry, the suffragan Bishop of Dover, was also elected a vice-president.

A NEW PHASE OF THE ENDOWMENT QUESTION.—*The Scotsman*, referring to the Education Bill, says:—"In the last General Assembly of the Church of Scotland some surprise and sensation were created by the Rev. Dr. Wallace proposing to settle the question of Church Establishments in Scotland by a plan which was, in substance, that the religion to receive State endowment in each parish ought to be decided by the vote of the parishioners. At the time we tried to show reasons for considering this proposal as extravagant or impracticable. Though predisposed in favour of anything coming from such a quarter, we could not see our way to it. But Mr. Forster's Education Bill would open up a way to this very project, so plain and straight that even Dr. Cook would hardly be able to err therein. When the religion to be endowed in the parish school is left to be settled by the local vote, it will puzzle the sharpest sophist to show a shadow of reason why the same course should not be taken as to the religion to be taught in the parish church. Assimilation between church and school will become absolutely necessary if we are to be saved from the most irrational and ridiculous results. It would be strange to have the religion which is to be taught in the parish church settled by the State, or rather by the State of 200 years ago, and the religion to be taught in the parish school settled by a vote of the parishioners last week. One result would be, that in a great number of cases the people would be taught one religion at the church, and another in the school—one on Sunday and another on Monday. Dr. Wallace's day is coming, and Mr. Forster is his forerunner."

THE SPANISH CLERGY AND THE REVOLUTION.—Senor Castellar has been delivering another eloquent speech, or series of speeches, in the Cortes against the State pay to the clergy, on the occasion of the discussion of the Budget, in which they figure for the respectable sum of nearly 1,800,000*l.* Referring to the projects of clerical reform which were to have been introduced (but were not) by Senor Ruiz Zorrilla, he remarked:—

The clerical reform could not be realised because of the combinations in the majority; because, out of the forces which had grouped themselves around General Prim, many had enlisted on the condition of doing nothing! Is it not clear that they cannot take any measures? A part of the majority presented the Duke of Genos, and the other part said, "This won't suit the Conciliation!" Another fraction thinks of the Duke of Montpensier; but the rest say, "This king won't suit the Conciliation! We must coalesce on the person of the king!" When there came the debate on the Crown jewels, a portion of the majority abandoned it, and "Viva la Conciliacion!" There approaches the question of the reforms in Porto Rico, and a part of the majority again show intentions of separation, but "Viva la Conciliacion!" There comes, above all, the grand question, the question of questions, the question of the Church and of the Ecclesiastical Estimates, the most transcendental of all—that without which the revolution is a lie—and another part of the majority say, "This does not tally with the Conciliation," and "Viva la Conciliacion!" Gentlemen, what does this prove? It proves that the conservative elements which are very good for normal epochs are very bad for revolutionary epochs—in fact, the worst of all elements. When you make a revolution, to call to your side the parties who so much respect existing interests is the same as if a mariner placed a boy by his side to help him in the midst of the tempest. We come, therefore, to this question of questions—that of the clergy; and this cannot be resolved by this Assembly. New catastrophes, new sacrifices, new violences and misfortunes, even a new reaction may come, and possibly in the end the hurricanes of a new revolution may at last free us from the clergy and the Ecclesiastical Estimates. Yet, "Viva la Conciliacion!"

Of course the estimates, both clerical and military, are being passed as presented by the Government, but on some of the items there has been and still is a considerable amount of skirmishing, and much interest involved in the debates, which now occupy the Cortes both in night and day sessions.

A citizen of Newhaven, a Republican, recently refused to have his child vaccinated with vaccine matter taken from the arm of a Democratic child.

Religious and Denominational News

MISSIONARY ORDINATIONS.

On Tuesday evening, the 8th, a service was held in the Free East Church, Aberdeen, for the purpose of ordaining Mr. Thomas T. Matthews, of Lancashire Independent College, as a missionary to the island of Madagascar, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. There was a large congregation in the church, composed of persons of various denominations. The ministers on the platform were Dr. D. Brown, of the Free Church College, Aberdeen; the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, Principal of the Missionary Institute, Highgate, London; the Rev. J. S. Candlish, of the Free East Church; the Rev. D. Arthur, Belmont Congregational Church; the Rev. J. C. Macphail, of Pilrig Free Church, Edinburgh; the Rev. D. Wallace, Dee-street Congregational Church; the Rev. T. Gilfillan, Blackfriars Congregational Church; the Rev. J. Collie, Melville Free Church; the Rev. J. Duncan, Albion-street Congregational Church; the Rev. A. Yule, Rutherford Free Church; the Rev. J. Hunton, Frederick-street Congregational Church; the Rev. J. Ross, Congregational Church, Stirling. Among the general audience we observed Lord Provost Leslie, and several clergymen connected with different churches. The Rev. T. Gilfillan opened the service with reading and prayer. The Rev. J. S. Wardlaw then gave a very interesting description of the field of labour of the missionary designate. The Rev. D. Arthur put the usual questions to Mr. Matthews, who returned very full and explicit answers. The ordination prayer was then offered by the Rev. Dr. Brown, after which the Rev. J. C. Macphail addressed the newly-ordained missionary; and the Rev. J. S. Candlish closed the service with prayer.

On the evening of the 10th instant, an interesting service was held in St. Augustine Church, Edinburgh, when Mr. James Gilmour, M.A., was ordained as a missionary to Mongolia, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. The service was opened by the Rev. Dr. Gowan. The field of labour was graphically described by the Rev. Alexander Williamson. The Rev. G. D. Cullen asked the usual questions. The ordination prayer was offered by the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, M.A. The Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander gave the charge, and the Rev. W. Muirhead, of China, closed the service with prayer.

On the evening of the 13th instant a special service was held in Claremont Chapel, London, when Mr. P. George Peake, of Rotherham College, was ordained as a missionary to Madagascar, in connection with the London Missionary Society. The Rev. J. O. Whitehouse opened the service with reading and prayer, and asked the usual questions, to which Mr. Peake gave very satisfactory answers. The field of labour was graphically described by the Rev. Dr. Mullens. The ordination prayer was offered by the Rev. J. Corbin, after which the Rev. Dr. Falding delivered a most impressive charge, and closed the service with prayer.

On the evening of the 14th inst., a special service was held in Trinity Presbyterian Church, Newcastle, for the purpose of ordaining as missionaries Messrs. Hepburn and Montgomery, students in connection with the London Missionary Society. The former is about to proceed to South Africa, the latter to Madagascar. The service was of a most impressive and solemn character, and took place in the presence of a crowded congregation. After praise and prayer the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, A.M., gave a very interesting description of the fields of Messrs. Hepburn and Montgomery's future labours. The Rev. S. Goodall asked the questions usually put to candidates for ordination, and offered the ordination prayer. The Rev. T. H. Brown, A.M., delivered an impressive ordination charge, and the Rev. Dr. Bruce closed the service with prayer. Besides the ministers already named, there were also present the Revs. H. J. Bobjones, B.A.; D. Lowe, A. Jack, C. Stewart, J. Black, and R. Leitch.

The Rev. George Snashall, B.A., of Swanland, has accepted the cordial and unanimous call of the church and congregation assembling in Nicholas-street Chapel, Ipswich, to become their pastor.

The Rev. T. Child, late of Castleford, Yorkshire, has accepted the unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the church and congregation worshipping at the Free Church, Sittingbourne, Kent, and purposes entering on his public ministry on the first Sunday in March.

THE REV. H. WARD BEECHER AND HIS CHURCH.—A section of the members of the Plymouth Church (the Rev. H. W. Beecher's) have demanded a revision of the Articles of Faith of the congregation. Hitherto they have been seven in number, affirming (1) the Divine existence; (2) the inspiration of the Scriptures, and their revelation of "an authoritative rule of faith and practice"; (3) the Trinity; (4) the Fall and original sin; (5) the Atonement; (6) forgiveness for penitents and destruction of the impenitent; (7) the General Resurrection and Judgment. A committee of five, including Mr. Beecher, has been appointed for the revision of these Articles, and the privilege of selecting his four associates has been left to Mr. Beecher.

HARBORNE CHAPEL, BIRMINGHAM.—Services in connection with the settlement of the Rev. F. W. Walters were held February 13 and 14. On the Sunday the Rev. S. G. Green, B.A., president of Rawdon College, preached two appropriate sermons on "The Christian Church" and "The Christian Priesthood." On Monday a public meeting was held. Statements

relative to the settlement were made by the secretary of the church and by Mr. Walters. The Rev. S. G. Green, B.A., gave the charge to the pastor, and the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A., addressed the church and congregation. The following ministers were present and took part in the devotional exercises:—Revs. W. J. Henderson, W. L. Giles, F. G. Marchant, J. G. Greenough, M.A. (Cossley), and J. Chadburn (Middlesborough).

GLENORCHY CHAPEL, MATLOCK, BATH.—On Tuesday evening, February 15, a meeting was held at Glenorchy Schoolroom to celebrate the extinction of the debt of nearly 300*l.* recently incurred in the alteration of the chapel. Shortly after Christmas, through a sale of fancy work, &c., provided by the ladies of the congregation, aided by contributions conditionally given, and others given unconditionally, the amount of the debt was realised. Some difficulties in the final arrangement prevented the holding of this meeting earlier. After an ample repast, the Rev. W. Young, of Wirksworth, addressed the meeting, and in following speeches special acknowledgment was made of liberal subscriptions received from gentlemen whose generosity is well known amongst our churches, and of the generous aid given by two members of a neighbouring noble family. The Rev. F. R. Bellamy, pastor of the church, presided.

TEMBRANCE SERMONS AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL AND THE METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE.—On Sunday evening the special services in St. Paul's Cathedral were unusually crowded, in consequence of its becoming known that the Rev. H. J. Ellison, M.A., vicar of New Windsor, was to preach the customary sermon—a circumstance which had the effect of attracting large numbers of teetotalers from all parts of the metropolis, the reverend gentleman being one of their principal leaders. In his sermon, Mr. Ellison spoke with much force of the drinking customs prevalent in this country, of the waste of expenditure occasioned by them, and of the formidable obstacles which they presented to the development of religious and social effort. He spoke of drunkenness, not merely as it existed in this country, but as it was to be found in Liverpool, Edinburgh, and other places. Nor was the evil confined to home. In India, for every native converted to Christianity, we made a thousand drunkards. The drink preceded and impeded the way of the Gospel. He called upon Churchmen to arise and assist in putting down the evil. It was of no use to establish schools, working men's clubs, and similar agencies, as long as the influence of the public-house remained undiminished. Convocation had awakened to the necessity of something being done, and he besought his hearers to assist in the good work. A crusade should be proclaimed against intemperance, not merely in London, but throughout the country. On the afternoon of the same day, a similar sermon, under the auspices of the National Temperance League, was preached by the Rev. J. P. Chown, of Bradford, in the Metropolitan Tabernacle, which was densely crowded within a few moments of the doors being opened. Temperance advocates can therefore rejoice in the fact that the largest church belonging to the Establishment, and the largest Dissenting chapel of which London can boast, were both on the same day the scene of temperance sermons by temperance leaders.

Correspondence.

MR. FORSTER'S EDUCATION BILL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR.—There are so many good features in Mr. Forster's Education Bill, and the praise accorded to it is so loud and general, that one is afraid lest the great defects of the measure should not be thoroughly canvassed in order to their removal.

Without taking up your valuable space with preparatory remarks, I would state that the great radical error of the bill is that it does not do away with all dogmatic teaching. Mr. Forster asks, "How are we to prevent it?" The answer is not very far to seek. How has dogmatic teaching been prevented in Ireland? Why could not the same provision be made in England and Wales as exists there. The part of Mr. Forster's speech dealing with this aspect of the question, was peculiarly weak and inconclusive.

As the proposals in the bill now stand, the schools will be a second State-endowed religious organisation in every parish throughout the land. The Government does not directly pay for religious teaching, yet the exchequer and the local rates will mainly support schools in which dogma and denominational tenets are taught. This will be a relief to the members of the Church of England chiefly, who will secure all their peculiar view being taught, and that at the cost of the tax-payers—a large proportion of whom have a strong objection to the catechism and formularies of that Church. In this respect Mr. Forster's Bill will add immensely to grievances which all Nonconformists now feel. Mr. Forster himself acknowledges that it would be possible to prepare a set of Bible lessons in which dogma should not appear. If this were done it would obviate all difficulty, while the desire on the part of those who have founded denominational schools to teach a catechism might be met by hours being set apart for this purpose. In this case no Conscience Clause would be needed, and no such clause can be made effective. Every one who has had experience of the way in which the clergy deal with such matters, must be aware that a Conscience Clause is nothing better than a delusion and a snare.

Further than this, working men are either incapable of sending a written objection to their children being taught dogmas, or they have an insuperable dislike to sending such a written document, that the confidence Mr. Forster expresses in the effectiveness of his Conscience Clause, is utterly vain and misleading. Working men will not send written protests, however strongly they may object to their children learning creeds. The simplest and only satisfactory mode of dealing with the question, is to put the schools on such a basis that the purposes of sects and clergy cannot be furthered by their instrumentality. I earnestly hope that Nonconformists will at once speak out everywhere on this point, otherwise they will be forced to support a most insidious and effective means of State-Church propagandism.

Yours truly,
GEORGE W. HUMPHREYS.

Wellington, Somerset.

THE NEW BURIAL BILL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR.—Allow me through your excellent paper to express my belief that the time for giving notice to the rector of the parish or his curate is too long. Some time will elapse before the relations can determine where and when to bury their dead. Then they must have opportunity to consult their minister, and he must have time to inform the parson. I am sure they cannot do all this in all cases, and have forty-eight hours to spare. The bill will, I fear, be impracticable in a great many cases, if it should pass without restricting the time to give notice.

Yours respectfully,
T. L. JONES.
Machen, near Newport.

BIBLICAL REVISION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—*Apropos* of the proposed revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and the fears of your correspondent, "An Independent," would such a plan as the following be likely to meet the case, and obviate his objections? Let the work be committed to a fairly representative body, of perhaps about twenty persons. Let no alteration be made in the text without the agreement of a very large majority—say three-fourths—but let any two or more members have the right to require the addition of a note containing any emendation they think necessary, and specifying briefly the reasons for and against it, subject, however, to the judgment of an umpire that there is some reasonable ground for it. The same right of course to be given to a minority, who might dissent from the decision of a three-fourths majority to alter the text.

By the adoption of some such plan, I think we should secure the immunity of the bulk of the text from needless alteration, and at the same time provide a way by which the unlearned reader would be informed of all instances in which there is any reason to doubt the accuracy of the Authorised Version; whilst, in those cases where it is impossible to decide with certainty, he would know of the fact, and how the controversy stands.

Yours, &c.,
A DISSENTER.

February 21, 1870.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Thursday a bill was introduced by Lord KINNAIRD to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the mining population. Lord CAIRNS obtained an order for returns affecting the Irish Land question. Lord LYVEDEN having proposed joint committees of the two Houses of Parliament for private business, a discussion followed, in which several noble lords reiterated their complaints that in the early part of the session they are left without work, while at the end of the period they are overwhelmed by measures which they have no time fairly to examine, and which they are compelled to accept or reject without adequate consideration. Lord GRANVILLE, in reply, stated that important measures would be without loss of time brought in. The LORD CHANCELLOR, in defending the Government, expressed regret at the approaching absence of Lord Cairns from the House. Their Lordships adjourned at twenty minutes past seven o'clock.

REFORM OF THE JUDICATURE.

On Friday the LORD CHANCELLOR moved the first reading of the Judges Jurisdiction Bill, which will enable any one judge of the Courts of Common Law to sit, upon the request of the Chief Judge, in any other court. He then called attention to the report of the Judicature Commission appointed in September, 1867, and presided over by Lord Cairns. The great defect of our judicature was the unhappy separation between our courts of Common Law and Equity, so that a man might go to one tribunal and have right and justice on his side, while his adversary might appeal to another court with equal success. Having traced the origin and causes of this peculiarity in our law, he adverted to the proposals for its improvement since 1815. The Judicature Commission considered the whole subject, and came to the unanimous conclusion that the whole of the superior courts should be consolidated into one High Court of Judi-

cature, with the power of dividing itself into separate divisions. This court would hand over the proper business to the particular division, but any judge might sit in any one division, and from time to time a cause might be removed bodily from one court to another. The measure which at a future day he should introduce would carry out these recommendations, and would secure to a suitor that he should have his right determined by one and the same court. Another branch of the report related to the constitution of the Court of Appeal. This would be a permanent court, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, and it would deal with all cases, both of Common Law and Equity. Appeals would still lie to the House of Lords, and it might be desirable to appoint a judicial committee of that House at the beginning of the session whose report must be affirmed by the House. He proposed at an early day to embody the main recommendations of the commissioners in two bills—one relating to the Court of First Instance and the other to the Appellate Jurisdiction. He expressed his satisfaction at the prospect that an edifice suitable for the administration of justice would be soon commenced which would bring all the members of the profession under one roof, and thus conduct to speed, cheapness, and certainty in the administration of the law.

Lord CAIRNS expressed his approval of the measures shadowed out by the Lord Chancellor, but suggested that the Court of Appeal should consist of ten instead of nine members. It was desirable that the present blots in our judicature should be as speedily as possible removed.

Lord WESTBURY congratulated the Lord Chancellor upon bringing forward a measure which promised the most beneficial results. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was attracting an increasing number of colonial appeals, and there was no duty more incumbent upon the Legislature than to make due provision for the hearing and adjudication of these, which he trusted would shed a lustre upon the present Government. Lord ROMILLY attached great importance to some uniform system of procedure. He thought that an infusion of the lay element would greatly improve any judicial committee of that House. Lord REDESDALE said it was a singular circumstance that out of forty-eight appeals now before the House no less than twenty-four came from Scotland. The bill was read a first time.

Their Lordships adjourned at twenty minutes past seven.

On Monday the House sat for only a few minutes, and transacted no public business.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Wednesday the House sat only a quarter of an hour. Quite unexpectedly, and without discussion, Mr. T. Chambers's bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister was read a second time. Bills were also brought in to remove the electoral disabilities of women and to amend the law relating to the summoning, &c., of juries.

Although the House on Thursday was by no means so full as it was when Mr. Gladstone introduced the Irish Land Bill, there was a very large attendance of members to listen to Mr. Forster's exposition of the Education Bill; and some dozen or so of Peers—conspicuous among whom were the President of the Council (Earl de Grey and Ripon), and the Archbishop of Armagh—occupied seats over the clock.

PRELIMINARY BUSINESS.

Mr. W. H. SMITH gave notice that on the 15th of March he should call attention to the state of pauperism in the metropolis, and to the operation of the Poor Law upon private charity.—Mr. MONCKE said the Red River difficulty was in a fair way of disappearing.—Mr. GOSCHEN intimated the intention of the Government to propose that metal mines shall be rated for poor and other local rates.—Mr. SHAW LEFRAZON said he intended in a few days to make a statement as to metropolitan tramways.—The Marquis of HARTINGTON stated in reply to Mr. Baines that the causes of the telegraphic delays (which were for the most part beyond the control of the Government, and of which were to be credited to the unfavourable condition of the weather) were now in rapid course of removal, and that he hoped in a very short time no reasonable ground for complaint would remain.—Mr. FORTESCUE said that as soon as the report of the Irish Education Commission was ready it should be produced.—Mr. FAWCETT undertook that if the Government declined to take up the question of Parliamentary election expenses he would himself give the House an opportunity of considering it.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in asking leave to bring in a bill to provide for public elementary education in England and Wales, began by enlarging on the importance of the question, which he said affected not merely the intellectual, but also the moral training of a large portion of the population. The responsibility connected with the settlement of such a question was great, and pressed with equal force on both sides of the House. He felt confident that hon. members opposite would divest themselves of all party considerations in regard to this measure. ("Hear, hear," from the Opposition.) The Government had not brought forward the measure with any intention to offer what might be termed a compromise, for they were fully sensible that to be effectual it must be a measure that must meet the real needs of

the country. Last year, about 415,000 was required for primary schools in England and Wales—11,000 for day-schools and 2,000 for night-schools. The number of children upon the registers of those schools was about 1,450,000, and the average attendance about 1,000,000, representing, therefore, the education more or less imperfect of nearly 1,500,000 children. (Hear, hear.) But in many instances the education was very imperfect, because the attendance was often very irregular. These figures represented also a great amount of voluntary zeal—(Hear, hear)—and a great amount of willingness on the part of parents to send their children to school. He bore a warm testimony to the zeal of the local managers of the present schools. They were not about to ignore the fruits of their self-denying labours—of ministers of all denominations and of clergymen in particular. But only two-fifths of the children of the working classes between the ages of six and ten were on the registers of the Government schools, and only one-third of those between the ages of ten and twelve. Consequently, of those between six and ten they had helped about 700,000, more or less, but left unhelped 1,000,000; while of those between ten and twelve they had helped 250,000, and left unhelped at least 500,000. The unaided schools were the worst schools. His statements were borne out by the result of the inquiries made by direction of Parliament, concerning the educational condition of four great towns, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham. For instance, it was calculated that in Liverpool the number of children between five and thirteen, who ought to receive an elementary education, was 80,000, but 20,000 of them attended no school whatever, while at least other 20,000 attended schools where they got an education not in the least degree worth having. (Hear, hear.) In Manchester, not including Salford, with only 65,000 who ought to be receiving education, about 16,000 received no education at all. Manchester was also better than Liverpool in another respect, for those who did attend school appeared, as a general rule, to get a good education. Leeds was as bad as Liverpool: and so, also, was Birmingham. (Hear, hear.) The result of the State leaving the work entirely to volunteers was that where State help had been most wanted it had been least given, and that where it was desirable that State power should be most felt it was not felt at all. (Hear, hear.) Their system hitherto had been to help those who helped themselves, and they had left unhelped those most in need of assistance. Therefore, notwithstanding the large sums of money voted, they found a vast number of children badly taught, or utterly untaught, because there were too few schools, many bad schools, and a large number of parents who could not or would not send their children to school. Hence came a demand from all parts of the country for a complete system of national education. They had now to cover the country with good schools, and to get parents to send their children to them. They had duties towards parents and towards their tax-paying constituents; and they must not destroy in building up. (Cheers.) Their object was to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it could be done without, extending the system where extension was necessary, procuring as much as they could the assistance of the parents, welcoming as widely as possible the aid of those benevolent men who desired to assist their neighbours. (Cheers.) First they had to provide by law that there should be efficient schools everywhere throughout the country. England and Wales would be mapped out into school districts—borough boundaries for towns and civil parishes for the country. In the metropolis they would take the present districts of the workhouse schools, and where they did not exist, the boundaries of the vestries. If, then, they got all England and Wales divided into districts, their next duty was to ascertain their educational condition, and for that purpose they took powers to collect returns which would show what in each district is the number of schools, of scholars, and of children requiring education. Wherever elementary education was in all respects satisfactory, that district would be left alone. To ascertain that efficiency, they should count all schools that would receive their inspectors, whether private or public, whether receiving Government assistance, whether secular or denominational. But he feared that the vast majority of districts would not be up to their standard. 1st. They should adhere to the old rule that the school should be kept up to the standard of secular efficiency which Parliament from time to time might think it necessary to exact. 2. They proposed to do away with denominational inspection:—

At present the state of matters is this. There are denominational inspectors all through the kingdom, crossing one another continually in the most curious and inconvenient manner. But though there are denominational inspectors everywhere, and though there are concordats which prevent certain schools from being visited by any but a denominational inspector, the examination into the doctrines of the denomination applies to only one denomination. (Cheers.) It is only in the Church of England that inspectors have any power to examine with respect to religious doctrine. Now, we do not think that fair to other religious denominations. (Cheers.) We think also, and I believe that that opinion is shared by many of the most active members of the Church, and by many of the most hard-working of the clergy, that such a condition is unfair. (Cheers.) No one can for a moment be blind to the fact that there are different schools of doctrine in the Church, and I hear hard-working clergymen complain that the children they instruct are subjected to examination in religious doctrine

by an inspector whose sentiments are different from their own, while an inspector visiting a Wesleyan or an Independent school has no right whatever to make inquiry into points of religious doctrine. But I go further, and say I do not believe that it is fair to the Church herself. In the Church herself there are many doctrinal disagreements, and we have agreed as a State not to attempt to deal with them. Well, then, this inspection of religious teaching misleads. While it fails to secure religious teaching, it oftentimes induces Church organisations to relieve themselves from what, under the circumstances, is an unpleasant duty. I have that view stated in the strongest possible manner, much more clearly than I can do, by a high authority in the Church—by the Archdeacon of Berkshire, who has had more experience in connection with schools than most clergymen. But if it be unfair to other persuasions, and scarcely fair to the Church herself, it is most inconvenient and costly, and I may add, most injurious to the cause of education.

They proposed, that after a limited period one of the conditions of public elementary schools should be that they should admit any inspector without any denominational provision. 3. The acceptance of a Conscience Clause would be required as the condition of the receipt of public money. He was glad to find that public opinion had very much grown in favour of that condition. The clause, which would be stringent, was as follows:

No scholar shall be required, as a condition of being admitted into or attending or of enjoying all the benefits of the school, to attend or to abstain from attending any Sunday-school, or any place of religious worship, or to learn any such catechism or religious formulary, or to be present at any such lesson or instruction or observance as may have been objected to on religious grounds by the parent of the scholar sending his objection in writing to the managers or principal teacher of the school, or one of them.

Some thought a Conscience Clause was of little use. His own experience was otherwise. Even the present clause, where applied, had been effectual. But the new one would involve not a building grant but the annual grant. Having gone thus far, the present restrictions of purely secular schools would be removed, but this provision would not interfere with schools which had received a past building grant, and would not accept the Conscience Clause. They would not receive the annual grant, but there would be no interference. The bill would give a year to all districts, to see if they could make up present deficiencies by voluntary zeal. If not, the State would step in, and they would employ compulsion where, but only where, it was wanted. Where new schools were required, the arrangement for their provision would be as follows:—A year would be allowed to elapse, in order to see if the schools could be provided by voluntary effort; but if this source failed, then School Boards would be called into existence, and would be required to erect schools, the cost of which would be defrayed out of rates, aided by the Parliamentary grant. In towns, these Boards would be elected by the town councils, and in country districts by vestries or select vestries. Absolute freedom would be allowed as to the persons to be selected, subject only to the condition that each Board should consist of not less than three or more than twelve members. No *ex officio* members, or Government nominees, would sit upon these Boards; but if any one of them failed to perform its task of providing schools, the Government would step in, do the work, and then hand back the district to the Board. How was the cost of education to be met? The Government were not prepared to give up the school fees, which last year amounted to 420,000*l.*, and might under the new system be doubled or trebled. To do so would be unnecessary and mischievous. (Cheers.) Why should they relieve the parent from all payment for educating his child? But there were exceptions. They proposed to give the School Board power to establish special free schools under special circumstances, which would chiefly apply to large towns, where, from the exceeding poverty of the district or for other very special reasons, they proved to the satisfaction of the Government that such a school ought to be set up. They would also empower the School Board to give free tickets as much as they pleased to parents who could not afford to pay for the education of their children; and would take care that those free tickets should have no special stigma of pauperism attached to them. The schools would, as a rule, be thus supported—one-third out of school fees, one-third out of Parliamentary grant, and one-third out of rates or subscriptions. The rate where levied would be a charge on the poor-rate, and if it exceeded 3*d.* in the pound, the district would receive additional assistance from the Parliamentary grant. The School Boards might either build new schools or assist existing schools, or do both; but if they assisted any school, they must assist all schools in equal proportions. They must not pick out one denomination and say, "We shall assist you, but not the others." If they went on the principle of assistance, they must assist every public elementary school. The religious difficulty had not escaped the attention of the Government. They were disposed to think that its importance had been exaggerated; and after much consideration, they had, as Mr. Forster announced amid general expressions of approval, determined not to restrict the action of the School Boards with reference to religious instruction, but to content themselves with the enforcement of an efficient Conscience Clause.

Now, just look at the ages of the children with whom we have to deal. The great majority of them are probably under ten years of age; some of them are over that age and less than twelve, and a few are over twelve and under fourteen. We want good school education and good school training for such children. We want good schoolmasters for them; but those are not ages at which children require doctrinal or dogmatic teaching to any great extent. It may be said, "Why do you not

prescribe that there shall be no doctrinal teaching—why not prescribe that there shall be no religious teaching at all?" Why do we not prescribe that there shall be no religious teaching? Why, if we did so, out of the religious difficulty we should come to an irreligious difficulty. (Hear, hear.) We want to do what the great body of parents wish, always guarding the rights of the minority; and I have no doubt whatever that the majority of parents would wish that there should be religious training and the Bible in the schools. (Hear, hear.) If we prohibited religious teaching, should we not be saying that the only book not to be used in our schools is the book which is the foundation of the religion we profess? (Hear.) But then it may be said that we ought to have no dogmatic teaching. But how are we to prevent it? Are we to step in and say the Bible may be read, but may not be explained? Are we to pick out Bible lessons with the greatest care in order that nothing of a doctrinal character might be taught to the children? I don't say that we could not do this. Rather than fail in the opinion of the country, I should be prepared to encounter such a task: but I say that it is one of detailed supervision which does not belong to the central government—(Hear, hear)—and in which the great probability is, the central government would fail. (Hear, hear.) Again, it may be argued that there are, perhaps, places in which the parents would prefer that there should be no religious teaching in the schools—that the education should be strictly secular. Now, we take note of one fact, and we bear in mind one principle. The fact is this—that, as the result of experience, this question is found to be theoretical rather than a practical one. It has been found in the case of the voluntary managers that, however much they may talk about this difficulty in theory, in practice that has not proved to be so very serious. It has been found that clergymen who have resisted the Conscience Clause as a provision of an Act of Parliament have carried out such a clause in their own schools. (Hear, hear.) What we say is this—We impose on School Boards a practical work, and we say to them, "It is for you to carry it out." We arrive, then, at the principle to which I have referred, and it is this—the principle of election. The persons who are to constitute the School Board are the members of the Town Council or the members of the Vestry, and these bodies are elected by the people. We say the members of this Board are persons in whom you trust, because we do not doubt that parents will take care to elect men that will not raise religious difficulties in the way of education. (Cheers.)

To secure the attendance of the children in the school it had been determined to adopt—"after much deliberation the Government have permitted me to put before the House"—were Mr. Forster's words—"the principle of direct compulsion." (Cheers.) The principle had indirectly already been admitted. The Denison Act gave guardians the power of sending children to school who received relief. They might extend that Act by making the going to school a condition of relief. Then the short-time system might be extended to all trades, and extended to agriculture. There is another plan, that of giving educated children a certificate, by means of which they were able to get work easier than those who had not one. Then there was the industrial school system—that is, the compulsion of children under a certain age. These systems might all go together. The short time system might be revised. The Workshops Act might be made more stringent, and there might be an extension of the Bleaching Act. Still they could not entirely rely on indirect compulsion, and it would be made much easier if they would declare that it is the duty of a parent to send his child to school. In America direct compulsion, though seldom enforced, was useful as a moral force. It was proposed, therefore, that powers should be given to the school boards to frame bye-laws compelling the attendance of all children between the ages of five and twelve under a penalty (to be levied upon the parents) of 5*s.* for each offence, unless the parent could prove some reasonable excuse—that the children were educated elsewhere, sickness, or some unavoidable cause, or the absence of any public elementary school within a distance of one mile. [The announcement that the Government intended to adopt the principle of compulsion had excited warm expressions of approval from hon. members on both sides, but the explanation of the mode in which it was to be carried out, fell rather flatly upon the House, and excited no cheers at all.] The School Boards were also to have authority to establish industrial schools; also to use those small endowments which were not touched by the Endowed Schools Bill of last year, because they were endowments receiving assistance from Government. They also gave them power to suggest amendments, which, if approved by the Government, might come into operation. In conclusion, the right hon. gentleman said:—

Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use giving technical instruction to our artisans without elementary education; and many of our labourers are highly uneducated, and for the most part unskilled. If we leave them any longer unskilled, notwithstanding their strong sinews and determined energy, they will become overwhelmed in the competition of the world. Upon this most speedy provision depends also, I fully believe, the safe working of our constitutional system. To its honour, Parliament has lately decided that England shall in future be governed by popular Government. I am one of those who would not wait until the people were educated before I would trust them with political power. If we had waited until they were educated, I fear it would have been long before there would have been a chance of their being educated. Now that we have given them political power, we must not wait any longer to give them education. There are questions demanding answers, and problems that must be solved, and can ignorant constituencies answer and solve them? Upon the speedy provision of education depends also, I believe, our national power. The communities throughout the civilised world are gathering themselves together

in masses, and we know that in our small island we shall no longer hold our position among the nations of the world if we do not make up for our lack of numbers by our intellectual force. Many members of this House are earnestly anxious to ameliorate the condition of those around them. We all know from unhappy experience that knowledge is not virtue, much less is elementary education, and that education alone does not give the power to resist temptation; but though knowledge is not virtue, want of education is weakness, and, in the hard struggling of the world, weakness generally means misfortune, and often leads to vice. Let us all think of the villages in which we live, and the towns it is our lot to visit; and is there any one who does not know child after child growing up to probable crime, and still more probable misery, caused by its being either untaught or badly taught? How, then, can we take on ourselves the responsibility of allowing this ignorance and this weakness to continue one year longer? With these views, I submit the bill to the favourable consideration of the House. (The right hon. gentleman sat down amid loud cheers.)

Lord ROBERT MONTAGU differed altogether from Mr. Forster's estimate of the educational destitution of the country, and went at length into statistics in support of his views. He held the Revised Code answerable for stopping the increase in the number of schools, and thought the best mode of supplying any deficiency would be to remove the restrictions on the operation of the present system. The levying of rates, he predicted, would put an end to voluntary subscriptions, and the compulsory provisions would be inoperative.

Mr. DIXON (chairman of the "League") thanked the Government heartily for the bill, though not agreeing entirely in the mode by which the religious and the compulsory difficulty were got over. A Conscience Clause never could be satisfactorily worked, and it ought not to be left to the School Boards to say whether the compulsory principle should be adopted or not. He regretted, too, that the occasion had not been taken to reconstitute the Education Department.

Mr. MUNDELLA also approved the bill, believing that it contained the germs of a perfect system of national education.

Mr. COWPER-Temple eulogised it as a great stride in advance, made in a tolerant and comprehensive spirit, and possessing the special merit of starting from the present platform. Under the measure before them the Churchman, the Dissenter, and the Secularist could all work in union; those who believed that religious education was the only basis of morality, and those who believed religious teaching of less importance than mental culture, would under this system be able to carry out their views.

Lord SANDON suggested that compulsory powers should be taken for acquiring school sites.

Mr. FAWCETT regretted that the compulsory principle had not been fully adopted.

Sir J. PAKINGTON congratulated Mr. Forster very heartily on the general success with which he had surmounted the difficulties of the subject. He regretted the bill did not propose to create an independent Minister of Education, and doubted also whether the parish was the best area to fix for a school district.

I cannot understand, however, what machinery my right hon. friend proposes for combining parishes. There certainly ought to be administrative power somewhere to combine small parishes, where the geographical arrangement allows of it, in order that one school may be established for those parishes. I understood my right hon. friend to say that, in arranging the rural districts, his object was that no child should have to go more than one mile to school.

Mr. FORSTER: What I said was that if a child lived more than a mile from the school, the fact would be deemed a reasonable excuse against compulsion being resorted to.

Sir J. PAKINGTON: I think a mile is too small a limit. (Hear.) I know a case where four parishes are thrown together to maintain a school, and in several instances the children in the more remote parts of the district have to go upwards of two miles to school, and I never heard of the slightest complaint on the subject at any season of the year. This is a point which I trust my right hon. friend will reconsider. We should proceed according to common sense, and it is certainly impossible to justify the proceeding, which we have seen in recent years, of sending out inspectors of different denominations, one to visit one class of schools and another to visit another. (Cheers.) Another point for which I have long contended, though in a miserable minority, I am very glad to find is also included in the scope of the bill, and that is that whenever public money is granted, then a Conscience Clause should be in existence. (Cheers.)

As to compulsion, though he had recently reluctantly come to the conclusion that it must be resorted to, he held that it ought not to be left to the local bodies to enforce it.

For the sake of your own bill, I advise you not to leave in doubt your proposals and intentions on the subject of compulsion; and that parents and children should know what residuum of time, after their period of education is completed, is to be left to them for their usual occupations. I do not quite understand whether the right hon. gentleman proposed to establish Education Boards in every district.

Mr. FORSTER: I said that the kingdom would all be divided into school districts; but a School Board will not be formed unless the educational need is proved.

The discussion was continued by Mr. HIBBERT, who also pointed out practical difficulties in the partial and purely permissive application of the compulsory system.

Mr. WALTER congratulated Mr. Forster upon the occasion he had chosen for the introduction of the subject, because for some months past the country had been rather distracted, he must say, by the existence of two Leagues, holding somewhat opposite

opinions on the subject, and though, as Shakespeare told us,—

"Tis dangerous
To come between the fell incensed points
Of mighty opposites";

yet, his right hon. friend had not shrunk from the danger. He had secured to the National Union the advantage of non-interference with the religious character of their schools, and, on the other hand, he had administered a slight dose, but still a dose, of compulsory education to the friends of the League. (Hear.) In the course of further remarks, the hon. member expressed agreement with the criticism as to the omission to reorganise the Ministry of Education, and the choice of the parish as the unit of educational division. Neither did he think that the vestries would make the best electors to these Boards, and as to direct compulsion, he hoped no occasion would arise for putting it in force.

Mr. FORSTER, in replying to the points raised in the discussion, said that he did not pretend to have given a perfectly complete exposition of every matter contained in the bill, and it would probably be better to take the full discussion after the bill had been printed than on the present evening. He felt obliged for the readiness which hon. gentlemen had expressed to give a fair consideration to the bill, and he was perfectly sure that there existed a strong desire to have a good educational measure. His right hon. friend opposite expressed a doubt as to the expediency of taking the parish as the unit. The parish was an imperfect division for the purpose, but it was more convenient than the union; but clauses had been framed so that where parishes were close they might be annexed for the purposes of the bill under the term of "united parishes," while other parishes more distantly situated would be called "contributory parishes." In reply to Mr. Wodehouse, who thought that the guardians would be a better body to choose the School Board than the Town Council, he observed that, while taking care of the rights of the minority, he deemed the best plan to pursue with regard to the religious difficulty was to leave the matter in the hands of the parents of the children. For ascertaining the amount of educational destitution in large towns, to which point the hon. member for Stockton had referred, the bill provided that there should be a distinct officer for that purpose, and likewise other officers for the rural districts, where the labour of investigation would be greater. This bill did not interfere with the present arrangement with regard to Parliamentary grants for building schools in large towns, but the conditions on which they were made would have to be considered on the bill becoming law. Lord R. Montagu was under a mistake when he said that the inspectors in regard to religious education were not inspectors for the Government, because it was the duty of those inspectors to ascertain whether the religious education was conducted satisfactorily, and, if it were not, to recommend a reduction of the grant. As regards the matter of the Conscience Clause, the Government distinctly thought that Parliament had a right to alter the conditions of the grants for the future, but they had the strongest possible evidence from members of the Church of England that, on the whole, they approved the new provisions. With regard to the compulsory principle, it was not the way to promote its extension to run in advance of public opinion, and, therefore, it could only be brought into operation in those districts where it was approved.

Sir S. NORTHCOAT, in putting forward various practical difficulties, said he wanted to know, and the hon. member for Oldham put the question Would the managers of that school have the power of calling upon the children to attend and compel them to attend?

Mr. FORSTER thought he had done so by implication. They gave the power of compulsion only to school boards, and in the case put there was no board. In a district in which the educational need had been proved, if it had been supplied within the year they gave there would be no School Board, and the compulsory clause would not apply. There might be instances of a district in which there were public elementary schools managed, as at present, by voluntary managers, as well as schools under the School Board; and in such a case none but the School Board would have the power of compulsion.

In the course of the debate Mr. Melly, Mr. Wodehouse, and Mr. Whalley also made observations in general approval of the bill. It was read a first time.

Mr. Forster fixed the second reading for March 14, intimating that the committee would not be taken before Easter.

Mr. DODDS afterwards brought in a bill to facilitate the vesting of mortgaged estates, and on the motion of the same gentleman a select committee was appointed to inquire into the Salmon Fishery Laws.

The House adjourned at ten minutes past ten o'clock.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

On Friday the information elicited by questions put to Ministers amounted to this, that Lord Granville has addressed an important despatch to the Governor of Queensland upon the subject of the importation of South Sea Islanders into that colony, and also a despatch to the British Consul in the Fiji Islands, requiring him to forward suggestions for the regulation of the traffic, and if that were impossible, for its suppression; that 100 soldiers have been trained for employment in the telegraph department; and that O'Donovan Rossa has not, as erroneously reported by some of the Irish newspapers, been lately flogged, or, indeed, subjected to

any punishment except the imprisonment which he is undergoing under the sentence of the court by which he was convicted of treason-felony.—Mr. WHALLEY sought to extract from the Chancellor of the Exchequer some information as to the manner in which he proposes to deal with the income-tax; but Mr. Lowe very naturally declined to anticipate his financial statement by partial disclosures of his purpose with regard to this or any other duty.—In the absence of Mr. Walpole, who is prevented by a domestic affliction from taking his place in the House, Mr. T. CHAMBERS consented (at the instance of Mr. Collins), to postpone the Committee upon the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill until Wednesday, April 27, the first Wednesday after the Easter recess.

THE CONSULAR SERVICE.

Upon the formal motion for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. HOLMS, at some length, called the attention of the House to the present position of our consular service. The chief points which were made by the member for Hackney were that the consular service is too expensive, and that its efficiency is diminished by its being placed under the control of the Foreign Office, instead of under that of the Board of Trade. The main business of our consuls, he maintained, was, and ought to be, connected with commerce. The hon. gentleman quoted the recommendations of successive committees, and complained bitterly of the indifference which the Foreign Office had shown to their suggestions. The resolutions which he proposed were seconded by Mr. EASTWICK, who especially recommended the transfer of the control of our consuls to the Board of Trade, and deprecated the encouragement of consuls to neglect their commercial functions, and engage in political business, which arose from their connection with the Foreign Office. Mr. R. SHAW reminded the House that a Committee had already been appointed to examine the whole subject of our diplomatic and consular services; and as Mr. OTWAY, on the part of the Government, objected to fettering the discretion of that Committee by the declaration of the opinion of the House upon any part of the question, Mr. HOLMS consented to withdraw his resolutions. Mr. GRANT DUKE moved the second reading of the East India (Laws and Regulations) Bill. Sir C. WINGFIELD criticised some of the provisions of the measure, but did not oppose the second reading, and the bill was allowed to pass this stage without objection.

The Select Committee upon the Abyssinian War was reappointed at the instance of Mr. BOWRING, acting for Mr. Candlish.

EQUALISATION OF POOR-RATES IN LONDON.

Mr. GOSCHEN next brought in his bill for providing for equal distribution over the whole metropolis of a further portion of the charge for poor relief. In support of it he reminded the House that of the £1,400,000 now spent by the metropolis on poor relief, 400,000 was already placed on the common fund, to the great relief of the poorer parishes, twenty-six parishes receiving aid from the common fund, and fifteen contributing to it. This partial equalisation he showed, though it had undoubtedly led to increased charge, particularly in salaries, had greatly improved the character of poor relief, and had checked the increase of pauperism, the improvement being most remarkable in the treatment of children, of lunatics, and the establishment of dispensaries. The bill proposed to place on the common fund a contribution to the unions of 3s. 6d. a week for every adult inmate of a workhouse, with due security against overcrowding, and the result would be that 650,000 a year, or about half of the whole charge of relief, would henceforth be paid out of the common fund.

Mr. SCATER-BOOTH, though not opposed to equalisation, was rather startled by this increase, and suggested that, instead of a specific contribution, a proportion only of the cost of in-door maintenance should be charged on the common fund. Mr. M'CULLAGH TORRENS and Dr. BREWER joined in objecting strongly to equalisation, unaccompanied by local control and representation; while Mr. LOCKE hailed the bill as a step in the right direction; and after some observations from Mr. WHALLEY, the bill was read a first time.

Mr. PLIMSOUL obtained leave to bring in a bill to compel railway companies to provide foot-warmers for second and third-class passengers, "whenever the weather is such as to cause suffering without them."

The House adjourned at ten minutes past nine.

Before the commencement of public business on Monday, Mr. Disraeli entered the House, and remained for a short time. On taking his seat he was warmly congratulated. The right hon. gentleman looked pale.

Mr. Walpole, who has been unwell, also took his seat for the first time this session.

PRELIMINARY BUSINESS.

Mr. BYRLANDS gave notice that he would, on the 1st of March, ask leave to introduce a bill to provide for the closing of public-houses throughout the whole of Sunday. The HOME SECRETARY named Friday, the 4th of March, as the day on which he will introduce the bill for the amendment of the licensing system; Mr. AYRTON explained the difficulties which prevent the connection of the subway at the foot of Westminster Bridge with the Thames Embankment or Cannon row; Mr. GLADSTONE declined to fix the date at which he will introduce the bill to abolish religious tests in the Universities, till he saw a reasonable prospect of proceeding within a moderate time with the ulterior stages of the bill; and Mr. GOSCHEN informed the House that by the measure

which is in preparation to alter the incidence of rating, properties used for public purposes will be rendered assessable to local rates.

Mr. MONSELL (in reply to Mr. Gilpin) said he had that evening laid on the table a correspondence which would fully explain the position of the Basuto tribes in South Africa. Sir P. Wodehouse considered the recent treaty entered into with the Boers was upon the whole favourable to the Basutos, and it was accordingly approved by her Majesty's Government. Sir P. Wodehouse had made every provision for the protection of those who, owing to war, had been driven from their homes.

REGULATION OF MINES.

There was no opposition to the Mines Regulation and Inspection Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. BRUCE, but a good deal of time was spent in criticising its details and making suggestions for the improvement of its provisions. The general scope of the measure is similar to that of the bill which was brought in with a similar object last year, but many alterations have been introduced into some of its clauses, and these alterations seem as a rule to be recognised as improvements. In the course of the conversation Mr. J. LANCASTER, one of the members for Wigan, made his maiden speech, and offered some valuable practical suggestions as to the working and management of mines; while Mr. G. ELLIOT, who was nearly equally inexperienced in Parliamentary speaking, gave the House the benefit of his knowledge of mining affairs; and Mr. RODEN, one of the representatives of Stoke, also made his first appearance as a debater. The bill was read a second time, and the Committee was fixed for the 18th March.

LOCAL TAXATION.

Mr. GOSCHEN, in moving the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the propriety of dividing the payment of rates between owners and occupiers, stated in detail the measures which had been adopted by the Government during the recess to collect information upon the subject of local taxation, and took occasion to inform the House that in the measure which they proposed to introduce to extend the incidence of rates, they did not intend to render personal property liable to rating. Passing from these topics to the immediate object of the inquiry which he proposed to institute, he discussed at some length the question who actually pays the rates—the owner or the occupier; and expressed a pretty decided opinion that the payment ought to be divided between the two. If such a division was to take place, however, it would be necessary to provide for the proper representation of owners upon the local bodies which administered the rates, and this subject also he proposed to refer to the committee which he asked the House to appoint.

Sir M. LOPEZ maintained that the appointment of this committee would not touch the main question which was raised by those who complained of the weight of local taxation, and expressed apprehensions lest the division hinted at by the President of the Poor Law Board might separate the occupiers from the owners in their action in this matter, and in defence of the principle that personal property ought to be made to contribute to local rates. In conclusion, he moved an amendment deferring the appointment of the committee until the Government had produced their promised measure for extending the incidence of rating. This proposal was supported by Colonel Barttelot, Sir L. Palk, and Mr. Scourfield, who complained that many items of what was really national expenditure were charged upon the local rates.

Mr. HARDY suggested a verbal amendment in the terms of reference, so as to prevent its being understood as an admission that all the purposes to which the sums raised by rates were applied, were really "local" purposes; and at the same time asked the Government to refer to this committee the bill for extending the incidence of rating. Mr. Gladstone assented to the amendment suggested, and entirely disclaimed any intention to prejudge any part of the question; but at the same time he reminded his opponents that, if personal property was exempted from liability to local rates, real property enjoyed many exemptions from imperial taxation, and pointed out that if a proposal was made to put an end to one set of exemptions the other must necessarily come under consideration.

After this the discussion wandered into a variety of topics not immediately connected with the subject matter of Mr. Goschen's proposal; but in the end Sir M. Lopez withdrew his amendment, and the appointment of the Committee was agreed to without a division.

Mr. LOCKE brought in a Bill to amend the Smoke Nuisances Acts, so far as they relate to bakeshous-

The House adjourned at ten minutes past twelve o'clock.

THE SILK FAMINE.—The silk famine is running its course. Already have silken fabrics become almost solely an article of luxury. The imports of raw silk have fallen off 40 per cent.; prices have risen 100 per cent. The well-known useful silk can no longer be manufactured profitably, because it cannot be produced at a price which can compete with other fabrics. Manufacturers, therefore, are abandoning their trade, and weavers have to seek other work, or suffer the extreme poverty and want which attend partial employment. A general distress presses upon the whole trade, excepting the few branches occupied in producing the richest and most valuable classes of goods, for which wealth and fashion are at all times content to pay the inevitably enhanced cost.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

Her Majesty the Queen, accompanied by the Princesses Louise and Beatrice, and Prince Leopold, arrived at Windsor on Friday evening from Osborne.

The Bishop of Exeter arrived at Windsor Castle on Saturday, and on Sunday preached before the Queen and the Royal Family in her Majesty's private chapel.

On Wednesday, Mrs. Gladstone held her second assembly at Carlton House-terrace. The reception was numerously attended.

A Cabinet Council was held on Saturday, at which all the Cabinet Ministers were present, except Mr. Bright and the Duke of Argyll.

The *Lancet* says the health of Mr. Bright has undergone a slight improvement. He is, however, still suffering from symptoms of nervous depression. There is, nevertheless, every reason to hope that physical and mental repose will restore his health. Mr. Bright remains at Norwood.

The recent severe weather had a depressing influence upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, and has somewhat delayed the progress of his otherwise rapid recovery. His Grace was not quite so well on Thursday, but on Friday the symptoms had abated, and his state was much more satisfactory.

Lord Derby's stud is advertised for sale. The sale will take place at Knowsley, on the Friday after the Liverpool steeplechase.

The Postmaster-General received a deputation of Scotch members on Friday, who urged the necessity of establishing a halfpenny postage. In reply, the Marquis of Hartington said he saw no objection to the proposal, but that he must first of all inquire what would be its financial effect.

The Assistant-Solicitor to the Treasury, Mr. Augustus K. Stephenson, has been appointed temporarily to perform the duties of Registrar of Friendly Societies, pending the decision of Parliament upon the measure affecting that office which has been introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Marquis of Hartington, in reply to a memorial from Liverpool regarding telegraphic delays, states that fresh hands have been put on, and he hopes that when the atmospheric disturbances have subsided, the office will be equal to the work. An additional wire has been ordered for Liverpool.

Lord Cairns has started for Mentone, and intends to remain there till Easter. It is stated that his lordship is not at all out of health.

Eight young members of the Royal family of Mysore have arrived in England—four to study for the Civil Service and four for the Bar.

It is stated that Mr. Baxter has made further discoveries of corrupt practices at one of the Government establishments, which, when they come before the public, will show the necessity of that thorough overhaul which every department of the public service is undergoing at present.

It is rumoured that the Queen is preparing a companion work to the "Life of the Prince Consort"—an autobiography of herself.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

SOUTHWARK.—The election for Southwark has resulted in the return of a Conservative. On Wednesday morning great interest was manifested as to the issue of the contest, and during the progress of the polling the excitement increased. At nine o'clock Mr. Odger was more than 100 votes ahead of Colonel Beresford, Sir Sydney Waterlow being at the bottom of the list; but at eleven o'clock matters changed, and the Conservative candidate had the leading position. Mr. Odger's supporters rallied between one and two o'clock, and shortly afterwards Sir Sydney Waterlow retired from the contest, his success being considered hopeless. This, however, did not tend to alter the relative position of the other candidates, and at four o'clock the Conservative was far ahead. On Thursday the official declaration took place in the presence of a large crowd. The votes given were—

Colonel Beresford	4,684
Mr. Odger	4,382
Sir S. Waterlow	2,936

showing a majority of 304 for Colonel Beresford, who was accordingly declared duly elected. At the last general election there were also three candidates, and the votes recorded on that occasion were as follows:—Mr. Locke, 6,027; Mr. Layard, 6,908; Mr. Cotton, 2,495. The number of registered electors in the borough is 17,703.

BRIDGNORTH.—On Wednesday Mr. W. Foster was elected without opposition, in succession to Mr. Whitmore, who was lately one of the Conservative whips. Mr. Foster promised to give independent support to the present Government.

LONDONDERRY.—The contest in Londonderry has resulted in the return of the new Solicitor-General, Mr. Dowse. The numbers were:—

Sergeant Dowse	680
Mr. Baxter	592

showing a majority of 88 in favour of the former. There was a collision between the rival parties, and many persons were seriously injured. It is said that Lord Claud John Hamilton was assaulted, but not hurt. At night the streets in the lower part of the town were illuminated in honour of Mr. Dowse. A portion of the Liberals refused to abandon the torch-light procession, but kept outside the wall. When passing Banks' place a volley of stones was thrown from the wall. Afterwards the mob, which at one

time numbered upwards of 7,000, attempted to force the gates, but they were kept back at the point of the bayonet. The priests endeavoured to allay the excitement, which was intense. The mobs were very threatening.

NOTTINGHAM.—The nomination of candidates took place yesterday morning. Mr. Digby Seymour ("Independent," virtually Conservative) and the Hon. Auberon Herbert (Liberal) were duly proposed and seconded, and each addressed the crowd, but the uproar caused by the "lams" was too great to allow either of them to be heard. The show of hands was declared by the mayor to be in favour of Mr. Herbert. On Saturday Mr. Seymour's two daughters canvassed Nottingham and distributed in the public streets and market-place photographs of their father in his robes as Recorder for Newcastle, also cards bearing the following inscription:—"Nottingham Election, 1870.—Miss Seymour solicits your vote and interest on behalf of her father, W. Digby Seymour." In the afternoon the Hon. A. Herbert and George Potter made a suburban tour among the working men, by whom they were well received; and in the evening Mr. Mundella, M.P., addressed a crowded meeting. Mr. Augustus Thorne, the Conservative candidate, has retired in favour of Mr. Seymour.

MAIDSTONE.—Mr. Applegarth, who came forward as a working man's candidate in the Liberal interest, has retired from the contest. He gives as an explanation of this decision that he arrived too late in the field to make headway against the popular feeling in favour of Sir John Lubbock (Liberal), and in opposition to Mr. Foster White (Conservative).

ROXBURGHSHIRE.—Sir William Scott, the Liberal member for this county, has resigned, owing to ill-health. The Marquis of Bowmont, the eldest son of the Duke of Roxburgh, has come forward in the Liberal interest, and will, it is expected, be elected without opposition.

TIPPERARY.—The nomination takes place to-day. O'Donovan Rossa will be again proposed, and if the sheriff refuses to receive him Kickham will be proposed, but it is doubtful if he will stand. Mr. Heron does not make way. He has been stoned and hooted at Clonmel. Peter Gill has issued an address as the Nationalist candidate to the electors of Tipperary. He refers to Rossa "as our chosen and fairly elected representative, the brave, unconquerable Irish martyr, O'Donovan Rossa."

RECEPTION OF THE IRISH LAND BILL.

At the meeting of the Irish Liberal members, held in the Tea Room on Thursday last, about twenty representatives were present. Numerous letters of adhesion to the principle of the Government scheme were received from members who, from various causes, were unable to attend the meeting. The chair was taken by Colonel French, and Mr. Murphy acted as secretary. Among those present were Mr. W. H. Gregory, Mr. Maguire, Mr. G. H. Moore, Sir John Gray, Sir George Colthurst, Major Gavan, and Mr. O'Reilly. The meeting passed a resolution to support the Government scheme. The vote was all but unanimous, only one member declining to pledge himself positively until he had consulted the wishes of his constituents.

The *Morning Post* says it has reason to believe that the principal Irish landowners connected with the Conservative party have expressed their willingness to accept the general principle of the Irish Land Bill.

The Cork Farmers' Club has referred the Irish Land Bill to a committee to report on its provisions. The general opinion of the club is said to be that the principles of the bill are good, but that there are too many conditions in the interest of the landlords. At the meeting of the Limerick and Clonmel Clubs dissatisfaction was expressed at some parts of the bill, the chairman of the Limerick Club expressing the opinion that no legislation at all would be preferable to the passing of the measure in its present form.

The Irish "National" papers of course condemn the Land Bill. The *Nation* says it is an elaborate and tremendous effort at tinkering, and that the duty of Irish members is to tell the Ministers that this bill will not settle the land question. The *Irishman* says that the bill is worse than a delusion and a snare; that under the pretence of redressing the land grievances, it perpetuates and legalises landlord tyranny; under the pretence of legalizing Irish tenant-right, it destroys it. On the other hand, moderate journals, both Conservative and Liberal, either generally approve of the scheme, or state candidly that it is of a character to be shaped into a proper settlement of the land question.

Earl Granard writes to the *Freeman*, regretting that the Land Bill does not extend the Ulster custom to the rest of Ireland, and objecting to the scale of compensation for eviction as calculated to consolidate holdings. He, however, deems it a duty to endeavour to amend the bill, and not to offer any factious opposition.

LIMITED FORGIVENESS.—We heard from a Sunday school teacher the other day an illustration of one kind of forgiveness. Improving upon the day's lesson, the teacher asked a boy whether, in view of what he had been studying and repeating, he could forgive those who had wronged him. "Could you," said the teacher, "forgive a boy, for example, who had insulted or struck you?" "Y-e-s, sir," replied the lad, very slowly, "I—guess I—could;" but, he added in a much more rapid manner, "I could if he was bigger than I am."—*American Paper*.

Postscript.

Wednesday, February 23rd, 1870.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

The House of Lords was occupied last night with the consideration of the bill for the prevention of Sunday trading, the second reading of which was moved by Lord Chelmsford. The provisions of this measure are similar in their general character to those of other bills which the noble and learned lord has introduced on the same subject; and, though no division was taken upon it, many of its clauses were subjected to a good deal of hostile criticism.

In the House of Commons, Mr. W. E. FORSTER promised to consider the changes in the system of granting certificates to schoolmasters, and in the management of training schools, which may be rendered necessary by the passing of the Education Bill; but intimated that he does not intend to reintroduce during the present session the second part of the Endowed Schools Bill of last year.

Mr. LEPPREZ announced that the Government have no intention to propose any modification of Lord Campbell's Act, defining the liability of railway companies in case of accidents.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS had no difficulty in obtaining leave to bring in a bill to render void the sales of next presentations to benefices; but Mr. J. H. PALMER suggested that it would be desirable to extend its provisions in certain cases to the sale of advowsons carrying with them the next presentation.

Mr. MONK proposed a committee to inquire into the electoral disabilities of revenue officers. Although he obtained the support of Mr. Graves and Mr. R. Gurney, Mr. GLADSTONE besought him, out of consideration for the work which Parliament has to perform this year, to allow the question to rest for at least one session, and Mr. Monk received so little encouragement, that he did not think fit to press his motion to a division.

Mr. COWPER-Temple obtained leave to bring in a bill to withdraw from the authority of the Enclosure Commission all commons within a certain radius from the metropolis and other large towns with a view to their preservation as a public recreation grounds.

Mr. PARK and Mr. W. H. SMITH advocated a resolution declaring that the toll of Chelsea-bridge now levied on that bridge ought to be abolished, the motion being vigorously opposed by Mr. AYRTON, was defeated by a majority of 141—162 to 21.

Leave was given to introduce several bills, including one to provide for the appointment of a public prosecutor, and, after disposing of the orders, the House adjourned about seven o'clock.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

With milder weather, and moderate supplies of produce, the grain trade has been quiet to-day. From Essex and Kent, coastwise as well as by rail, the receipts of wheat have been limited. The trade has been heavy for all descriptions, at about late rates. There has been a good show of foreign wheat on the stands. The inquiry has been limited, on former terms. Moderate supplies of barley have been on offer. Sales have progressed slowly, at about previous quotations. Malt has been quiet, at late rates. Oats, the show of which has been good, have been dull and drooping. Beans and peas have been neglected. Transactions in flour have been only to a moderate extent, at the prices previously current.

ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.				
	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.
English & Scotch	1,080	1,090	680	30
Irish	—	—	—	—
Foreign	—	—	—	1,550 110 cwt.
				Maize, 8,880 qrs.

CRICKET ON THE ICE.—A novel scene was presented on Monday week upon the mere Fen, at Swithland—a cricket match between the All England Eleven and sixteen of the County and University of Cambridge. Batsmen, bowlers, and fielders all wore skating pattens, and the ice was smooth as glass. The play on both sides was very brisk. The local players made the very respectable score of 125, but they were easily defeated by the professionals, who, in about an hour, made 280 runs for the loss of eight wickets.

BILLIARDS AND BLACKLEGS.—Through London, at the corner of nearly every street, are public taverns at which merchants' clerks, bankers' clerks, and drapers' assistants spend night after night, getting rid of their salaries not unfrequently to semi-professional rooks who think it worth while to pluck such poorly feathered pigeons. To say nothing of the general tone of conversation in these places, the unmitigated blackguardism of the marker is nearly every case a cause in itself of more mischief than could be easily imagined. The billiard-marker, as a rule, is as full of schemes for the procreation of his neighbours' goods as a professed thief. The silly vulgarians who come to play at his table are cajoled into betting on the game, into betting on horses. The marker is not unfrequently the agent of a tipster whom he recommends to the patrons of his green cloth, and prize-fights, dog-fights, pitch-and-toss, are as much in his line as the ivory balls. Of late we have had a series of matches and tournaments by celebrated performers. These exhibitions are well enough if not carried too far, but they are being carried too far. Instead of being regarded as trials of skill, there are hundreds, if not thousands, who are so involved with wagers on their results that they have no thought whatever for anything else. —*Pall Mall Gazette*.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"H. B. C."—Thanks. Next week.

"P. E." desires us to acknowledge the receipt of the following additional amounts in response to the appeal for help to enable a family to emigrate:—Rev. A. C. Wright, 1l.; J. E. Fordham, Esq., 1l.; E. S., 2l. 2s.; Mrs. D. Williams and friend, 1l. 10s.; Mrs. Franklin Smith, 1l.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1870.

SUMMARY.

THE Gladstone Administration is faithfully redeeming its promises, and pushing forward with irresistible force. The great measure of the Session, the Irish Land Bill, introduced last week, is being keenly discussed by all persons interested, prior to the second reading, which is set down for March 7th. Irish Conservative landowners as well as Irish Liberal members have resolved to consider it on its merits—or rather are ready to accept its principle. On Thursday, Mr. W. E. Forster introduced the Government Education Bill for England and Wales, which will hardly yield in importance to the Irish Bill of the Prime Minister. We have expressed our opinion on the measure elsewhere. Nearly a month will be allowed for the due consideration of its multifarious provisions. On Friday, in the Upper House, the Lord Chancellor brought forward a comprehensive scheme for reorganising and harmonising our superior law-courts and the final Court of Appeal, which elicited the cordial approval of Lord Cairns, and a glowing eulogy from the captious Lord Westbury. On the same evening, in the Lower House, Mr. Goschen explained the proposal of the Poor Law Board to distribute further parochial charges for the relief of destitution over the whole of the metropolis. Nearly the entire expenditure in London in respect to indoor relief—which is about one half of the whole charge, 1,400,000l.—will now be put upon the common fund. A bill for the regulation and inspection of mines, introduced by the Home Secretary on Monday, and the appointment of a select Committee on local taxation, at the instance of Mr. Goschen, complete the bare record of a very active and important Parliamentary week.

The most important of the estimates are already published, and bear out the promises of a retrenching policy. Those for the Navy amount to 9,250,530l., and show a net decrease of 746,111l. from the sum voted last year. Greater economies have been effected in the Army Estimates. Owing to the new policy in the withdrawal of troops from the colonies, the Government are able to dispense with 12,308 men, and to reduce the estimates to 12,975,000l., showing a diminution of Horse Guards' expenditure to the extent of 1,380,900l. The total saving on the two services will be more than two millions sterling, which will be a favourable element in Mr. Lowe's Budget next April.

The defeat of Mr. Odger, and the return of a Conservative for Southwark, is a real misfortune to the Liberal cause. Though Sir Sydney Waterlow retired from the field in Mr. Odger's favour at two o'clock, his friends to a large extent declined to support the working men's candidate, many of them voting for Colonel Beresford. The issue of this election will tend to exasperate the artisan class, who have loyally ad-

hered to the Liberal party, and perhaps to create no little embarrassment at the next general election. We are glad, however, to see that Mr. Applegarth, who came forward for Maidstone in the same interest, has been induced to retire, rather than prejudice the claims of Sir John Lubbock, whose return on Friday next, if the Liberals and Nonconformists of that borough are true to themselves, may be confidently expected.

The Cabinet of M. Ollivier has achieved a splendid triumph in the Legislative Body. On Monday M. Jules Favre, the eloquent orator of the Left, but not an Irreconcileable, attacked the home policy of the Government, while admitting the value of the Imperial concessions to the national demands, and urging a pacific revolution. A week's debate, after the English fashion, seems to have been expected, and there had been preliminary meetings of the several sections of the Chamber to decide what course each should pursue. The apparent object of M. Favre was rather to force a dissolution than to discredit the Government. He was replied to by M. Pinard, late Minister of the Interior, whose patronage of the new Administration was rather embarrassing than otherwise. Yesterday the debate came to a remarkable end. Count Daru, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke with a candour, breadth of view, and eloquence, that took the House by storm. "France," he said, "wishes for order, but for order based upon liberty; she demands reforms, but distinctly sets her face against all excesses. The understanding between the members of the Cabinet is complete. We are in the presence of a Sovereign who spontaneously yielded to the wishes of the people, and who is now more than ever resolved to establish liberty. An understanding equally exists between the Chamber and the present Ministry. The Government asks for time to prepare reforms. Free countries wish to be consulted, not to be surprised." The Chamber was captivated with this honest and reasonable appeal. Further discussion was superfluous. The Left Centre and the Right Centre on the spur of the moment improvised a resolution of hearty confidence in the Ministry, which was carried almost with acclamation—M. Favre himself going with the stream. Only eighteen out of 254 deputies who voted went against the Ollivier Cabinet, which may now have a splendid future before it.

From two of our colonies there is excellent news. The opening speech of the Governor-General of the Canadian Dominion confirms the statement made in the House of Commons a few days ago, that the "Red River rebellion" which arose through misapprehension, will be ended by peaceful negotiation. In New Zealand all conflict with the natives has ceased. The leading Maori chiefs, tired of a semi-hostile position, have concluded terms of peace, and promised to assist the local Government in restoring tranquillity to the country. A late telegram gives good proof of their good faith. It is stated "that Te Kooti is surrounded by the Maori King and some of the principal chiefs, and, his escape being almost impossible, he is suing for terms of peace."

THE IRISH LAND TENURE BILL.

THE Government measure for protecting Irish agricultural tenants in relation with their landlords has met with just that sort of reception in Ireland which, in the judgment of reason, may be taken as of favourable augury for its ultimate success. The so-called "Nationalists," of course, endeavour to cast contempt upon it, and point to it as another proof that Ireland can never expect justice until she is placed under a legislature of her own. The farmers' clubs are divided in opinion respecting it—some being disposed to regard it as capable of being made by amendment into a useful and adequate measure; others complaining that, inasmuch as it does not provide for "fixity" of tenure, it will not answer the purpose for which farmers have been agitating, but will rather obstruct than promote a satisfactory settlement of the question. We believe that, there has been a meeting of Irish Members of Parliament now in town, in the tea-room of the House of Commons, and that, in concurrence with views expressed in writing by several other Irish representatives at present detained in their own country, it came to a nearly unanimous resolution to support the principle of the Bill. We had rather witness this natural difference of opinion respecting the merits of the Government plan, on a first glance at it, than a complete agreement among the occupying class. The measure, it must be borne in mind, is very varied in its provisions—as varied almost as are the grievances to which tenant farmers are exposed in different provinces and counties of Ireland.

The principle of the Bill is to protect the occupier, in every instance, against every inequitable demand which may now be legally made upon him by the owner. The machinery by which it is proposed to effect this purpose is tolerably simple, and to Irish minds especially will be intelligible, because in accordance with the habits of the people. But the detailed modes in which the machinery is to be worked with a view to apply the principle in greatly varying circumstances, will perhaps require time and reflection, in order to make their virtue palpable. When it is found that in each possibility due security has been provided against arbitrary evictions, and that the rights and property of tenants are as distinctly placed under the sanction of law as the rights and property of landlords, there can be little doubt that even they who have most deeply committed themselves to the doctrine of fixity of tenure, will see that their interests are far too liberally consulted by the Government Bill to admit of its being cast aside, as though of no value.

On the other hand, the landlord class, Tory as well as Liberal, British as well as Irish, is fully sensible of the extraordinary pains taken by the Government to preserve to it the just rights of proprietorship. The state of things appeared to be getting so desperate on the other side of the Channel, and the demands made on behalf of farmers had risen so rapidly from what was reasonable to what was preposterous, that the owners of landed estates in this country and in Scotland thought they had good grounds for fearing lest precedents might be established in the legislation of the present Session, which would be found highly detrimental to their pecuniary interests, and their social status, for all time to come. The announcement made by Mr. Gladstone on Tuesday evening, of the leading provisions of the measure, evidently gave immense relief to the landlord class. No doubt, the powers they had been wont to claim for themselves, and which some of them had freely, not to say inconsiderately, exercised, would be largely abridged by Mr. Gladstone's Bill; but there would be no transference by it of the substantial rights of property from the owners to the occupiers of the soil. It would in no wise degrade the position of landlordism. It would set the stamp of legal authority upon no novel system of land tenure, either in Ireland or in England. It would do nothing to hamper really good landlords, while it would effectually restrain from injustice such of them as are bad. Strong—very strong as a remedial measure—it was nevertheless singularly free from revolutionary germs and tendencies. On the whole, therefore, there is reason to believe that, with some modifications of a minor character, the Bill will be accepted almost as heartily by the Conservative as by the Liberal party—that the main principle of it will not be seriously contested—and that the shape in which it will ultimately receive the royal assent will be very much what it is at this moment.

The great value of the Bill in our eyes—its special charm, we may say—is the association in it of courage in purpose with gentleness of manner. It will do what was required to be done by considerations of justice, but it will not do what was demanded to be done by the clamours of excited selfishness. It has drawn the line clearly, and, as we think, almost indisputably, between the *meum* and the *tuum* of property vested in the soil. It has, in fact, turned the equity of each case into the law which is to regulate the disposal of it. But it has not gone a step beyond this, and its methods of enforcing a fair adjustment of rights between landlord and tenant are founded almost exclusively upon the known customs of the country. There is nothing in what may be called the working machinery of the Bill, which in itself is calculated to excite a feeling of outrage, or to give to either tenant or landlord a sense of triumph. The probability is, therefore, that the chief operation of the Act will be silent and negative; that occupiers and owners, conscious of having been placed upon a level, will deal with one another as common sense and good feeling dictate; and that within a reasonable limit of time agrarian disturbances will cease to characterize the condition of the sister isle, and revolutionary passions will, for want of due *pabulum*, gradually die out.

Severe discussion may, perhaps, bring to light deficiencies in the measure which have escaped the notice of its framers. But it has evidently been constructed with great care, and we doubt not the truth of what was remarked of it by a Cabinet Minister, that "no little elbow-grease had been bestowed upon it." True as steel to the facts of the case, and adequately covering their whole breadth, we are not surprised at the general favour into which it has leapt. But it requires to be looked at again and again before its marvellous adaptedness to

the occasion can be fully recognised. It has conquered English prejudices. We believe it will set aside Irish prepossessions. So true is the old motto, "Labor omnia vincit." Singleness of motive, seconded by indefatigable effort, seldom fails. At any rate, it has not failed in the present instance. The prevalent feeling before the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's measure was that the Government had undertaken a task in which it was hardly possible that it could succeed—the prevailing opinion now is that it is most unlikely that it should fail. Happily, we have at the head of affairs men who undertake nothing which they have not good ground for believing that they will be able to perform. Difficulties invite rather than repel them—but only when associated with worthy ends. And good leaders make a good Parliament. The House of Commons, it may be safely presumed, will rise to the level of its duties. This Land Tenure Bill will be passed without serious obstruction—and Ireland will, after more or less hesitation, accept it as a righteous boon to her population.

THE TORY PEERS AND THEIR LEADER.

WHO does not at the present moment commiserate the Conservative party—in one House led by a statesman who is trusted in inverse proportion to his ability; in the other unable to command a respectable leader at all? The Opposition in the Commons complain that they have too enlightened and flexible a chief; in the Lords, they cannot secure one of more than average capacity. In the one assembly the Conservatives are so overborne by numbers, that they are inclined to stand aside while the householders' battering-ram is making terrible breaches in our venerable constitution; in the other assembly, the Conservatives are all-powerful in numbers and influence, but they complain, not for the first nor the twentieth time—"We've got no work to do." The hereditary aristocracy of England, which commands glittering coronets, and owns most of the broad acres of the country—which rules the world of fashion, dominates the rural districts, and can call to its aid a strong and all-pervading State Church—is so powerless in political life as to be able to affect legislation only in a negative form; so lacking in influence and genuine prestige as to fail to command the services of a suitable leader. In the one case, it can only utter barren annual protests; in the other, it may be obliged to fall back upon an incapable duke.

During the past week the Peers have uttered their annual complaint of lack of work at the beginning of the Session. The Government have responded in the customary fashion. Earl Granville is too civil and diplomatic to blurt out the real truth—that their Lordships cannot be trusted with the great measures of the Session before they have received the imprimatur of the People's House, and he takes refuge in stereotyped excuses and apologies. But there are certain law reforms, such as the reorganisation of the higher courts of judicature, and other Bills of a neutral character, which can be safely initiated in the hereditary chamber, and have been judiciously thrown down before the Peers to stay their legislative appetite.

While the question of co-ordinate legislation between the two Houses is once again postponed, that of the leadership of the Opposition in the Lords will not brook delay. The loss of Lord Cairns, who was not altogether confided in by the Tory magnates, is now greatly regretted as he returns to the seclusion of Mentone. To make the plight of his party the more pitiable, it is specially announced that his lordship does not retrace his steps to Italy on account of ill-health. Loyally, and in co-operation with his brother Conservatives, Lord Cairns has made one last effort to provide an effective successor. All eyes had been fixed upon the new Earl of Derby, wistfully rather than hopefully; but his lordship showed no sign. Instead of gentle but ineffectual wooing, it was at last resolved formally to "pop the question." At a numerous meeting of Tory Peers held on Saturday, Lord Derby was invited to accept the vacant leadership. An appeal backed by Lord Cairns, Lord Salisbury, and the Duke of Richmond, could not be lightly disregarded. But on "deliberate reflection" Lord Derby regrets his inability to accept the post. He pleads his personal inexperience and "habit and temperament" as fatal disqualifications, and he urges—truly enough under existing circumstances—that he can better serve the party as a private member in the ranks than as a chief clothed with official responsibilities.

This is a heavy blow to the Opposition, but it suggests a lesson from which they may derive profit. There is no doubt that Lord Derby represents the only possible Conservatism of the day,

and that the mass of his party in the Lords are wedded to such opinions and so obstructive a policy, as are incompatible with the proper working of the constitution. At a critical moment, Lord Cairns saved the hereditary Chamber by ignoring his Tory followers, and arranging terms of capitulation with Earl Granville behind their backs. For this serviceable and courageous act, he earned only the ingratitude of the Tory benches. It is a warning which Lord Derby can hardly have failed to take to heart. His Liberal-Conservative views, and his readiness to accept progressive reforms, are even less palatable to the Tory magnates than the Conservatism of Lord Cairns. By the civil refusal of his lordship to be their leader, their traditional policy is still further discredited. The late Earl of Derby persuaded the peers, for party ends, to accept household suffrage, but neither he nor they were prepared to admit the inevitable consequences. If still unwilling to go with the times, they will have to accept a series of capitulations, or a collision which will imperil the hereditary Chamber. By deferring to the national will, the Peers may retain their position as a useful branch of the Legislature, moderating if not controlling the policy of the Government. At present the House of Lords is not so much feared as ignored. But active opposition to the Government which enjoys the confidence of the people will raise anew, and in a very serious and urgent form, the question—whether an hereditary Chamber is compatible with a democratic House of Commons.

GERMANY, NORTH AND SOUTH.

ONE or two events which have recently occurred, both in North and South Germany, afford fresh proofs of the obstacles that impede the realisation of the national aspirations, and indicate, if not the waning influence, at least the changing policy of the great Prussian statesman.

Although King William is the undisturbed Sovereign of Prussia, the acknowledged head of the North German Confederation, and the titular President of the Customs Parliament—which embraces the States of the Fatherland South as well as North of the Main—his distinguished and unique position is not without serious drawbacks. Aided though he is by an experienced and sagacious statesman, he realises, to vary Mr. Bright's illustration, the difficulties of driving three omnibuses abreast. It is the special function of the King of Prussia to open and close many Parliaments, without being quite able to recognise the primary rights of a representative assembly. A military disciplinarian as well as a septuagenarian Sovereign, he finds it hard to succumb to the obligations of responsible government, and his absolutist prejudices are fostered by a subservient Court and a reactionary House of Lords. Count Bismarck alone is qualified to confront the antagonistic political parties which have their centre in Berlin, and the prolonged absence of the Minister-President, owing to the breakdown of his health, has encouraged the Feudalists and their friends in the Cabinet to make some demonstrations against his policy. The Count, on his return to active life, finds dire confusion in the political world, and his attempts to assert his wonted ascendancy have been less successful than usual. In both Houses Count Bismarck has been defeated.

The Berlin Government decided on proroguing for a time the Upper House of the Prussian Legislature, in order to afford the deputies an opportunity of passing the Bill relative to district organisation. Count Bismarck desires to abate the bureaucratic system in Prussia, with a view to bring the administration into greater harmony with the requirements of North Germany, and to overcome the prejudices of the South. But the Feudal Lords, jealous of the more comprehensive Parliament which threatens their exclusive claims, stand fast in favour of Prussian autonomy. Their dislike of the great Minister has at length found expression in open hostility. Formerly, when he entered that Chamber, "the whole of the members of the Right used to advance to meet him, and he was instantly surrounded by friends anxious to shake hands with him." When he appeared in the House, last week, for the first time after his illness, "no one," we are told, "moved; none but the President returned his salute." This ominous reception was but the prelude to determined opposition. Though Count Bismarck urged the paramount necessity of decentralisation, threatened a new election, and pledged himself to persist with the Bill, even if the whole of the next Session should have to be occupied in passing it, the Lords were not convinced, and the motion for prorogation was defeated by an overwhelming majority, only twenty members voting in its favour. By this vote the Upper House declined to endorse the view of the Minister-President,

that "the real interests of Prussia are identical with the greatest interests of the North German Bund."

Though the Lower House is more favourable to Count Bismarck's German policy, it shows a marked distrust of that statesman's colleagues, and a stern resolution to uphold its own prerogatives against the Executive. Some time ago, the Prussian representatives passed a resolution disapproving of a railway loan. The Government, disregarding that vote, contracted the loan, and appropriated the sum of 720,000 thalers from the current revenue in payment of the interest. When the Budget came under consideration last Friday, it was moved by Dr. Virchow, the reporter of the Budget Committee, that the item should be struck out. Count Bismarck acknowledged that the expense was "unlawfully and improperly" incurred, but disclaiming all personal responsibility for the expenditure, and promising that such unconstitutional acts should not be repeated, he pleaded for an indemnity in this instance. But the House, while applauding the head of the Government, refused to absolve his colleagues, and by a large majority decided to expunge the vote.

Equally interesting, though in another aspect, is the political struggle that is going on in Bavaria. At the late general election, the Ultramontane clergy, by dint of gross corruption and misrepresentations, managed to secure a majority of six in the new Chamber, the Upper House being already strongly Catholic. The King and the great majority of the educated classes in Bavaria side with Prince Hohenlohe, the Liberal Premier. The Ultramontanes adopted addresses in both Houses of the Munich Parliament, insisting that the treaties establishing military alliance with Prussia, or, what is the same, with the Northern Confederacy, should be so interpreted as to render them virtually null and void. The King curtly refused to receive documents recommending disloyal measures, and containing unjustifiable attacks on the existing Ministry, and he has peremptorily declined to part with his popular Prime Minister. The Lower House, therefore, threatens to reduce the army. This threat, if carried out, would probably bring about another dissolution, or a warning from Prussia declaring the continuance of Bavaria in the Customs Union dependent upon her abiding by and properly carrying out the military treaties, which on a former occasion sufficed to overcome all opposition. The country is kept in a state of great excitement by clerical agitators, who avow their intention to separate Bavaria from her sister States, and make it the domain of the Pope; and the Vatican is in great exultation at its apparent success, and at the adhesion of several of the royal princes to the Ultramontane cause.

One result of the excitement in Bavaria has been to draw from Prince Hohenlohe an important statement relative to the policy of his Government towards Prussia. He said, in a recent address to the Lower House, that he does not even look upon the union of Bavaria with the North German Bund as a question of time, for the constitution of that Bund is not of such a nature as to admit of a truly national union with the Southern Germans. That, indeed, seems to be the opinion of Count Bismarck himself, who is now trying, amid great difficulties, to remove these objections to a closer union of all the German States. The policy of the Bavarian Premier is to form a union between North and South, on the basis of all the States being given an equal voice in the administration of the federal affairs, but he admits that the obstacles to the creation even of a Southern Bund are all but insuperable. Two conclusions may obviously be drawn from what is taking place in Bavaria—first, that in this State, supposed to be the most Catholic in Europe, the Ultramontanes, repudiated by the Sovereign, the Government, the universities, and the town population, are likely soon to lose their ascendancy; and second, that there is no prospect for many years hence, that either Bavaria or any South German State will enter into closer relations with the Northern Confederation than now obtain. This generation, probably, will not be disturbed by a Franco-German quarrel.

THEN AND NOW: OR, TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

(From an American Correspondent.)

THE requisite number of States having ratified the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, it has thereby become a part of the organic law of the country. This important amendment, it may be remembered, secures to the coloured people in the Union, without restriction, all the civil rights and privileges of citizenship. It declares, "The

right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." The incorporation of this amendment in the American Constitution naturally suggests a comparison between the state of things which existed just ten years ago with those of the present moment. May I ask your readers to look for one minute on "this picture and then on that?"

In 1860 there were in the United States nearly four millions (4,000,000) of slaves. The legislative powers of the Federal Government, the Judiciary, and the Executive were all pro-slavery. The Fugitive Slave Law was in full force. The territories were open to all slave-holders for settlement with their human chattels. The Supreme Court had decided, in the Dred Scott case, that a slave had no civil rights which a white man was bound to recognise or respect. To teach a slave to read or write was a criminal offence, in some of the States punishable by fine and imprisonment. A conspiracy was even then being hatched with the view of subverting the General Government, dissolving the Union, and erecting upon its ruins a Government, the "corner-stone" of which, in the language of Jefferson Davis, "was to be the right of holding slaves anywhere and everywhere." Such were some of the bolder outlines of the picture in 1860.

Ten years have rolled away—ten years, which have included the most gigantic rebellion ever organised, and the most terrible civil war ever witnessed upon the earth. The smoke of the battle has, however, now cleared away. And what do we see? The shackles struck from the limbs of every slave; and slavery itself declared henceforth to be constitutionally unlawful throughout the land. The recent slave is now elevated to the dignity of a freeman and a citizen. Coloured men sit side by side with white men in the Legislatures of several of the late Slave States, and are appointed to Federal offices, and even as ambassadors to foreign courts. South Carolina, the leader in the late secession, has, by her new Legislature, elevated a coloured man to her Supreme Bench. Schools and colleges for coloured people are organised everywhere. Each of the learned professions contains a number of coloured members, and the new constitutions of several of the States secure to coloured children equal benefits, in the system of public school instruction with the children of the whites. The crowning act of the great work of emancipation has just been performed. A coloured man occupies the exalted position of United States Senator, from one of the recently-constructed and former slave States. In regard to this memorable event a contemporary writer says—"The negro, so long the disturbing force in our politics, has now entered Congress, and on Monday he walked about the Senate Chamber where he is soon to have a seat. This coloured man, Revel, comes from Mississippi, the State once represented by Jefferson Davis, and it is not the least of the revenges brought about by time and the war, that he is likely to take the seat formerly occupied by the ex-leader of the hosts of secession. It is a wonderful change. The war waged for slavery has given the slaves freedom, the ballot, and citizenship. It has sent splendid party leaders into hopeless oblivion, and brought the representatives of a contemned race into the very front. They come, too, forgiving and magnanimous, and ask of Congress amnesty and forbearance for those who have so long oppressed them, and would have bound them in everlasting chains. The appearance of Mr. Revel in the Senate bodes a new era. He will be closely scanned, but we do not doubt he will pass the ordeal more creditably than some white men who have been sent up by Sovereign States."

Can all this be true? Can all these changes have been crowded into ten years of American history? It is even so! And who that looks upon this picture and then on that will not feel an irresistible impulse to exclaim, "This is o God! What hath God wrought?" These mighty changes—changes which the wildest enthusiasm never conceived possible within a generation—have all been brought about within the short space of ten years. Many errors, imperfections, follies, sins, may have mingled with the acts which have terminated in the glorious triumph of freedom and humanity. But upon the whole, the hand of an overruling Providence is so evident when "then and now" are thus contrasted, that many of those who once favoured the rebellion have been compelled to see and confess that, in so doing, they have been, albeit unwittingly, contending against God. An era of prosperity is beginning to dawn, even in the South, eclipsing the palmiest days of slavery. And God seems

evidently setting the seal of His approval upon these mighty changes by showering richer blessings than ever upon the whole land. Let statesmen all over the world, then, heed the lessons these last ten years of American history so plainly teach, viz., that "There is a God who rules in the affairs of men"; that "righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people"; and that, while justice leads to prosperity, oppression and wrong sooner or later bring with them their own retribution.

COMMON LODGING-HOUSES.

It seems an inevitable law of nature that improvement shall beget improvement. At the present time, when the importance of sanitary legislation is everywhere fully recognised, and when it is universally admitted that the character of a people depends materially on the condition of the homes possessed by them, it seems almost incredible that men like the late Dr. Southwood Smith, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, and others of similar reputation, should have ever experienced any difficulty in procuring a general recognition of the principle that dirt is often merely another name for disease, that defective sanitary accommodation is the parent of pestilence and increased mortality. Yet so it was. The battle of sanitary reform was not won easily nor speedily. The advocates of clean and healthy dwellings found the champions of filth, nastiness, and fever, far more powerful and energetic than could have been anticipated. There were too many vested interests to be disturbed, too many illegal sources of pecuniary profits to be removed, not to awaken opposition to the progress of sanitary principles. An illustration of this was afforded by the numerous difficulties experienced in procuring the legislative adoption of what is now known as the "Common Lodging Houses Act," which was passed in 1851, and afterwards further extended by another act in 1853.

Previous to the passing of these measures, the condition of the common lodging-houses in London and the provinces was horribly disgusting, far more so than many persons could be induced to believe. As a natural result, drunkenness, immorality, crime, and disease were continually found haunting their precincts, and contaminating all who came within the reach of their terrible influence. In every part of the kingdom these places exhibited the same characteristics. Overcrowding was carried on to a fearful extent. In one place a room, measuring sixteen feet by ten feet, would be found containing six beds to accommodate twelve adult persons of both sexes, besides children. In another, eight persons would be found occupying a single bed. The parliamentary papers issued between 1840 and 1850 contain numerous such instances, which, but for their undoubted authenticity, would appear utterly incredible. Thus, we are told of lodging-houses in which the vermin were scraped literally in pailfuls from the walls; of rooms which had never been cleansed for years, yet which nightly formed the sleeping-places of numbers of poverty-smitten, diseased, and famishing men, women, and children. No wonder that the name of religion was unknown in these dens; that to become an occupant of such places was to fall into a moral abyss from which there was no hope of rescue, no chance of escape, save under most exceptional circumstances.

With the enforcement of the Act of 1851 a great change for the better took place in the sanitary condition of the common lodging-houses, especially in the metropolis, the results being observable in the increased amount of decency and health found existing in these receptacles of poverty. Indeed, as contrasted with their condition previous to 1851, the common lodging-houses of the metropolis are scarcely the same places. The reform seems to have been most radical and complete. From the very first, the police have carried on the work of supervision with zeal and earnestness, allowing no excuses to interfere with the fulfilment of the requirements insisted upon by the Act, and rigorously enforcing the clauses relating to overcrowding, whitewashing, and so forth. Indeed, so stringent were the various provisions of the Acts insisted upon, that it gradually grew to be a tradition that the modern common lodging-house was almost perfect in its way, that its healthiness was so great that no fever-case ever occurred within its walls. Even the medical profession seems to share the general impression, for in a recently-published work, by a medical practitioner of eminence, we are told "that from these places, formerly the dens of fever, typhus has been entirely banished." Would that it were so!

But, unfortunately, recent investigations tend to show that the work of reforming our common lodging-houses is by no means complete. Much has been done, yet much remains to be effected. Our

error has consisted in our too hastily assuming that the work of reform was perfect. The recent outbreak of famine-fever in the metropolis led to a renewed investigation of the sanitary condition of the places in which the poor resided, especially in Whitechapel, where the number of common lodging-houses is very large; the result being to show the necessity for further legislation for the purpose of rendering the Act of 1851 yet more efficient. Both in 1862 and 1869 the Whitechapel common lodging-houses furnished no small proportion of fever cases. It was the same in Spitalfields. The common lodging-houses in the notorious Flower and Dean-street and neighbouring thoroughfares in that parish, furnished no less than 40 cases of relapsing fever within the short period of three months. In Whitechapel, from the 29th of November, 1869, to the 1st of January, 1870, 23 such cases occurred, thus showing that however great the improvement in the condition of our common lodging-houses, further ameliorations remain to be effected.

According to a report furnished by Mr. Liddle, the Whitechapel Medical Officer of Health, it appears there are 188 common lodging-houses in his district, all of which are under the superintendence of the police. The houses are registered to contain 5,337 beds. These beds are chiefly used by single men. Some of the beds are, however, occupied by married couples, the rooms assigned them being divided by wooden partitions, so that each married couple may be said to possess a separate room. In some houses there are rooms set apart for single women. In 1861 the number of common lodging-houses was only 117, with 2,620 beds, so that within ten years the number of beds has been doubled. It is, therefore, assumed that the keeping of these places is found to be profitable in a pecuniary sense. Each person pays a sum varying from 3d. to 5d. per night for his lodging, including bed, firing for cooking, hot water, and the use of crockery; and every lodger who remains for seven days in the same lodging-house is only charged for six days, no payment being required for Sundays. The police pay frequent visits to these houses—occasionally night visits are made, and special attention is given to the cleanliness of the bedding, the floors, passages, and walls, to the condition of the ceilings of the rooms (which are required to be lime-whited twice every year), to the state of the water receptacles, and to the cleanliness of the privies; attention is likewise paid to the pavement of the back yards, and to the airing of the rooms, the police insisting upon the opening of all the windows after the bedrooms have been vacated.

Mr. Liddle considers all this work to be well done, and informs us that the contrast between the present and past condition of these common lodging-houses, as regards their sanitary arrangements, is most striking to those persons who knew them before the passing of the Act in 1851, and tells very favourably of the conduct of the police, and the manner in which they carry out their instructions. At the same time he indicates several defects of a sanitary nature which require attention, especially overcrowding. He contends that sufficient cubic space is not allowed for each adult, and points out that many of the houses which are used as common lodging-houses, are totally unfit for that purpose. They are so old, dark, ill-constructed, and slightly built, that the ventilation of them cannot be much improved without endangering the stability of the building. In some of these houses every available space is used for increasing the number of lodgers; the staircases are made so narrow and steep that they are difficult to descend; and the passages in those rooms which are allotted to married couples are extremely narrow, and, in many instances, very dark. He makes several suggestions with the view of meeting these sanitary deficiencies, and dwells on the necessity for a continual water supply in such places, a matter now rendered practicable by the use of water-waste preventers.

These hints demand prompt consideration, as do several others having for their object the greater efficiency of the Acts of 1851 and 1853. Mr. Liddle very properly shows that since those measures were adopted "various Sanitary Acts have been passed, which have been put in operation by the several local Boards in the Metropolis, whereby a great improvement in the public health has been effected. The diffusion of information by the public press and the sanitary reports of the medical officers, have so enlightened the public mind, that the various sanitary improvements which were thought so highly of some years ago, are now considered to be very far short of the requirements of the present day. It is, therefore, necessary that the Common Lodging Houses Act should be amended, so that the general sanitary condition of these premises may be still further improved. As these Acts were in operation before the passing of the Metropolis Local Manage-

ment Act, which provided that each district should have a medical officer of health, it would now be desirable so to amend the Common Lodging Houses Acts as to place all matters relating to the sanitary condition of them under the charge of the local boards, so that the sanitary officers of the district might assist the police in carrying out the sanitary requirements of these places."

An illustration of the importance of this last suggestion is afforded by the fact that until the outbreak of relapsing fever in Whitechapel, Mr. Liddle knew little or nothing of the condition of the common lodging-houses in his district, and his want of knowledge might have remained to this day, had not the police-inspectors recently received instructions to make him acquainted with every case of fever which had occurred in these houses, and to require of him a certificate that every room in which a fever case occurred had been closed for a certain period, and had been thoroughly disinfected. This led to Mr. Liddle making inquiry of the Medical Department of the Privy Council as to what course he should pursue with respect to the requests of the police. In return, he received a letter, dated December 14, 1869, in which he was told "that the Medical Officer of Health is not absolved from his sanitary duties in regard to a house in his district because it is registered as a common lodging-house; and that he is the most proper person to advise the police, acting as local authority under the Common Lodging Houses Act, 1853, sec. 7, as to the course to be pursued for preventing the spread of disease"; and that the Medical Officer of Health "will do well to give every assistance in his power to the police inspectors, in regard to common lodging-houses in his district, as well, when asked by them, by advising them on sanitary matters, and giving a certificate of satisfactory disinfection, as, without being asked to do so, by calling their attention to any sanitary defects in such houses or their management."

This is a fact which all Medical Officers of Health ought to be made acquainted with, for by the zealous co-operation of themselves and the police authorities, it would be quite possible to render common lodging-houses far more clean, decent, and commodious than they are at present, and thus, to some extent, anticipate the drift of future sanitary legislation in this direction.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

At a numerous meeting of peers held in the Library of the Carlton Club on Saturday, Lord Cairns in the chair, a resolution was moved by the Duke of Richmond, seconded by the Marquis of Salisbury, and carried unanimously, that the Earl of Derby should be invited, upon Lord Cairns's resignation, to assume the post of leader of the Conservative party in the House of Lords. This resolution was conveyed to Lord Derby by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Chelmsford, and Lord Colville.

The following is Lord Derby's reply, addressed to Lord Colville:—

23, St. James's-square, Feb. 21.

Dear Colville,—When the Duke of Richmond informed me of the resolution arrived at by the meeting of the Conservative peers, held at the Carlton on Saturday, requesting me to accept the leadership of the party in the House of Lords, I felt it due both to them and to myself, while promising an early decision, to request that a short interval might be allowed for the consideration of their proposal.

I could not but feel deeply the value of the confidence thus reposed in me, and my anxiety not lightly to reject a position of possible public usefulness was increased by the apprehension that a refusal on my part might, in the present state of matters, cause a certain degree of inconvenience to those with whom I have so long acted, and from whom I have just received so signal a mark of friendship and regard.

You will not be surprised that, under these circumstances, I should have hesitated for some time before giving the answer which, on deliberate reflection, I feel it my duty to give.

It is essential for the satisfactory conduct of the affairs of a party that its leaders should be at once efficient and experienced. Any deficiency in these respects is injurious, not only to the interests of the party itself, but to the proper conduct of public business. Now, I need not remind you that the practice of the House of Lords is absolutely new to me; and you will not suspect me of affected modesty when I say that the function of party leadership, honourable and important as it is, does not seem to me one for which I am by habit or temperament well qualified. To other claims on my time and attention, though there are many, I will not refer; for, if no public obstacle existed, private convenience should be set aside. But I am convinced that both to our friends and the public I should be of less use as a leader than as a simple member of the House of Lords, and this consideration alone decides me, though with sincere regret, to decline an offer for which I shall always feel grateful.

Of the work of the House I hope to take my full share. You will not, I trust, often find me absent from my place on any important debate, and you may confidently reckon on such help as I can give.

I have addressed this letter to you by the Duke's request, he having, as I understand, left town.

Believe me, my dear Colville,

Very sincerely yours,

The Lord Colville.

DERBY.

MR. FORSTER'S EDUCATION BILL.

ANALYSIS OF THE BILL.

The Elementary Education Bill, introduced by Mr. Forster and Mr. Bruce, was issued on Saturday. It fills 26 pages, and contains 88 clauses. Subjoined is the substance of the most important provisions of the bill:—

After enacting that for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation shall be provided in the public elementary schools for the children in the district, and that where the amount of such accommodation is insufficient, and the deficiency is not supplied within a limited time, a school board shall be formed to supply the deficiency, the bill proceeds to give the regulations to which public elementary schools shall be subject. They are as follows:—

(1.) The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of her Majesty's inspectors, so, however, that no such inspector, except with the permission of the Education Department, and on the request of the managers of the school, shall inquire into the religious instruction given at such school, or examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book. (2.) The school shall be conducted in accordance with the conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual Parliamentary grant. (3.) No scholar shall be required, as a condition of being admitted into, or of attending or of enjoying all the benefits of the school, to attend to or abstain from attending any Sunday-school, or any place of religious worship, or to learn any such catechism or religious formulary, or to be present at any such lesson or instruction or observance as may have been objected to on religious grounds by the parent of the scholar sending his objection in writing to the managers or principal teacher of the school, or one of them.

For the purpose of determining with respect to every school district the amount of public school accommodation, if any, required for any district, the Education Department will, immediately after the passing of the Act, cause returns to be made, and on receiving those returns, consider whether any and what accommodation is required. Notice is to be given by the Education Department of public school accommodation required. If any persons feel aggrieved by the declaration of the deficiency, they may apply in writing, and the Education Department will direct the holding of a public inquiry. Upon the expiration of a month, if no public inquiry is held, or upon the receipt of the report made after such inquiry, as the case may be, the department may publish a final notice stating that accommodation is to be provided within the period of twelve months. If after the expiration of such period the Education Department are satisfied that all the accommodation required has not been so supplied, the department may cause a school board to be formed for the district and may send a requisition to the school board so formed requiring them to take proceedings for supplying the accommodation. The school board shall, within twelve months after the receipt of this requisition, provide such accommodation as is necessary in order to supply the public school accommodation specified in the requisition. If the school board fail to comply, the department may appoint any persons to perform the duty. Every school provided by a school board shall be a public elementary school, and shall be conducted as such under the control and management of such board, and the bill gives power for the appointment of managers by the school board. If the school board do or permit any act of contravention of or fail to comply with the regulations, the department may declare the school board to be in default, and every act or omission of any member of the school board, or any person under the control of the school board, shall be deemed to be permitted by the board.

With regard to school fees, it is enacted that—

The school board may, if they think fit, pay the whole or any part of the school fees payable at any public elementary school by any child resident in their district whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same; but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent; and such payment shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

Further, if a school board satisfy the department that, on the ground of the poverty of the inhabitants of any place in their district, it is expedient, for the interests of education, to provide a school at which no fees shall be required from the scholars—

The board may, subject to such rules and conditions as the department may prescribe, provide such school, and may admit scholars to such school without requiring any fee. The board may also contribute money to industrial schools, and upon the election of a school board in a borough the council of that borough will cease to have power to contribute. A school board may, with the consent of the department, establish and build a certified industrial school.

With regard to the payment of school expenses, the bill orders that—

The expenses of the school board under this Act shall be paid out of a fund called the school fund. There shall be carried to the school fund all moneys received as fees from scholars, or out of moneys provided by Parliament, or raised by way of loan, or in any manner whatever received by the school board in their capacity of a school board under this Act, and any sum required to meet any deficiency in the school fund, whether for satisfying past or future liabilities, shall be paid by the rating authority out of the local rate. The school board, where they are not the rating authority, may serve their precept on the rating authority, who shall have the same power of levying a rate and requiring contributions as they have for the purpose of defraying expenses to which the local rate is ordinarily applicable. There is to be an apportionment of the school fund in united and contributory districts, and the bill provides a remedy for the school board on default of the rating authority, &c.

Power is given to extend the repayment of any loan that may be contracted over a series of years,

not, however, to exceed thirty. Provision is made for yearly returns of the expenditure of the schools, and also, where it shall appear necessary, for testing the accuracy of the returns made. To insure attendance at school the board is invested with power to make bye-laws for the following purposes:—

(1.) Requiring the parents of children above the age of five years and under the age of twelve years to cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school. (2.) Determining the time during which children are so to attend school, provided that no such bye-law shall be contrary to anything contained in an Act for regulating the education of children employed in labour. (3.) Providing for the remission of the whole or any part of the fees of any child where the parent satisfies the school board that he is unable from poverty to pay the same. (4.) Imposing penalties for the breach of any bye-laws. (5.) Revoking or altering any bye-law previously made.

Any of the following reasons is to be deemed a reasonable excuse:—

(1.) That the child is under efficient instruction in some other manner. (2.) That the child has been prevented from attending school by sickness or any unavoidable cause. (3.) That there is no public elementary school open which the child can attend within one mile, measured according to the nearest road from the residence of such child.

Any proceeding to enforce any bye-law may be taken, and any penalty for the breach of any bye-law may be recovered, in a summary manner; but no penalty imposed for the breach of any bye-law shall exceed 5s. for each offence, and such bye-laws shall not come into operation until they have been laid before both Houses of Parliament for at least forty days. If during such forty days an address is presented to her Majesty, praying her Majesty to withhold her consent from such bye-law, or from any part thereof, such bye-laws or such part thereof shall not come into operation.

The following are the regulations having reference to the Parliamentary grant:—

After the thirty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, no grant out of moneys provided by Parliament shall be made to any school which is not a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act. The conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual Parliamentary grant shall be those contained in the minutes of the Education Department in force for the time being, but such conditions shall not require that the school shall be in connection with a religious denomination, or that religious instruction shall be given in the school. An additional annual grant is to be made in certain cases, and the department may refuse to grant to unnecessary schools. The conditions of future building grants are defined, as well as the power of schools to take Parliamentary grants.

CIRCULAR OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.

The National Education League has issued the following criticism on the Government bill, addressed to the officers of its branches:—

The following principles, advocated by the League, are mentioned by Mr. Forster as being embodied in the Government bill:—

1. The obligation of local authorities to provide school accommodation for their districts. 2. Local rating, supplemented by Government grants. 3. Management of schools by elected local authorities, combined with Government inspection. 4. Unsectarian instruction, so far as it is secured by the exclusion of religious teaching from inspection; by the admission of secular schools to public grants; and by the recognition (though in an unsatisfactory manner) of the principle that secular and religious instruction may be separated, at the will of parents, or by the resolution of school boards. 5. Free education, by authorising local authorities to establish free schools, maintained by rating. 6. Direct compulsory attendance. While congratulating the members of the League upon the important points in which the Government bill accords with the scheme of the League, we venture to submit the following as being objectionable features of the Government plan, and to invite an expression of opinion upon them from the branches:—

1. The length of time allowed to elapse before the Government measure comes into operation. Though nominally one year, this may practically be three years, as a considerable time must be devoted to inquiry; then one year must be allowed for the development of voluntary effort, and at least one year will be required by school boards to get into action, and to supply the necessities of their district. 2. The permissive authority given to school boards to enforce attendance, instead of rendering the exercise of such power obligatory upon them. This may seriously interfere with school attendance in the agricultural districts; and in districts where schools are pronounced sufficient in number, there will be no power (not even permissive) of enforcing school attendance, because no school board will be appointed in such districts. 3. The authority conferred upon school boards to give free tickets of admission to schools, thus creating invidious distinctions amongst the children. There will be extreme difficulty in carrying this provision into effect, as it will be most perplexing to distinguish between the classes entitled to receive free tickets and those who may be considered able to pay school fees. 4. The provisions relating to religious instruction in public rate-supported schools are highly objectionable. By authorising school boards, at their discretion, to decide upon the kind of religious instruction to be given in such schools, these provisions of the bill must directly and necessarily import into the election of school boards religious prejudices and animosities, encourage a spirit of sectarian rivalry, excite bitter contests throughout the country, and cause the choice of members of school boards to turn exclusively upon theological opinions instead of upon personal fitness. It may also be pointed out that these contests will not only be renewed annually, but that as one party or the other secures a victory, they will necessarily lead to corresponding changes in the religious teaching imparted in schools under the direct control of local boards. We may further suggest that if this provision be carried into effect in England and Wales, it must seriously affect the maintenance of the undenominational system at present established in Ireland.

FEB. 23, 1870.

There are other points, the circular adds, in Mr. Forster's statement which require attention, but those above mentioned appear to us to be of urgent importance, and we therefore venture to lay them before you without delay. In order that we may be prepared to report the opinion of the branches at the meeting of the executive committee on Thursday next, we beg the favour of an early reply, embodying any resolution you may have to communicate, or the expression of any opinion you may wish to offer.

THE WESLEYANS.

The Rev. J. R. Hargreaves, Wesleyan minister of Birmingham, thus expresses in the *Daily News* his objections to the Government Bill:—

1. Mr. Forster proposes to divide the country into districts, in each of which inquiry will be made by the Privy Council as to their educational condition. If the supply or quality of educational facilities are not satisfactory, twelve months will be allowed to give a chance for local voluntary efforts to supply the deficiencies. If this is not done the school boards are to occupy the ground. The effect of this upon Wesleyan education operations is to hinder any extension at the close of twelve months. For thirty years, with great toil and expense, and hampered by unfair restrictions, they have been building and opening schools; but have as yet only one-fourth of their children receiving education in Wesleyan day-schools. However anxious they may be to do it, does any sane man think that the provision necessary for the whole can be made in twelve months? But if it is not, Mr. Forster says it shall never be done by Wesleyans. 2. Mr. Forster proposes to leave the question of religious instruction in new schools entirely to the local boards. They may set up Episcopalian, Nonconformist, or Secular schools as the majority decides. What the effect of this will be in rural districts no one can doubt. Not many Wesleyan or Roman Catholic schools will be set up by the "vestries," and in such districts the education of the young will be practically handed over to the Episcopalian clergy. This is "denominational education" with a vengeance. But suppose the Government plan is extended to Ireland (and why should it not be?), will not the Roman Catholic priest in town and country be the religious teacher chosen by the Irish local boards? In England the parson, and in Ireland the priest, will be dominant unless Nonconformists enter upon a fight for supremacy upon the local boards much more bitter than any Church-rate controversy has provoked. 3. But there is to be a Conscience Clause to protect religious liberty. Does not the necessity for such a clause teach us that there is a spirit existing which unless restrained by it would enforce theological teaching? That spirit has in the past oppressed the Nonconformist poor, and whatever clause is framed it will find means to evade it. Wesleyan ministers know by unpleasant experience the sort of treatment they and their people may expect, and no community has greater reason to distrust the clergy, and seek to hasten the severance of the Church from the State. Is not much of the talk about the "protection" ridiculous? We want the ballot to protect tenant farmers when they vote against their landlord, but Hodge, who can handle a pick better than a pen, is to rouse the wrath of the parson by asking in writing that his child shall not be taught the Church Catechism. When will laws be framed that men may have, not be compelled to seek and claim, religious liberty. For these and other reasons I think the Wesleyan Church will not accept Mr. Forster's plan very gratefully. Perhaps we may yet come to see that the only permanent solution of the question of National Education is—"a free secular system."

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

The preliminary inquiry into the charge against Prince Pierre Bonaparte of killing M. Victor Noir was completed on Friday, and the Prince was committed to take his trial before the High Court of Justice. A true bill has been found against him for murder and attempt to murder, and his trial will begin at Tours on the 21st of March. M. Glandaz will act as presiding judge, and M. Grandperret as public prosecutor. The *Gazette des Tribunaux* states that the preliminary investigation has furnished proof of the assault to which the Prince asserts that he was subjected, so that no doubt is left as to the provocation offered to him, and which caused him to shoot M. Victor Noir, and to threaten the life of M. Fonvielle.

M. Olivier has received a deputation of young men, and, in reply to an address which they presented to him, said that he had to struggle between those who wished to advance and those who wished to stand still. The Ministry, he added, would repress disorder without adopting a reactionary policy, and persevere in the path of Liberalism.

It is asserted that M. Rochefort intends to resign his seat in the Legislative Body if the president, M. Schneider, should persist in ignoring his communications.

The Parisian correspondent of the *Times* thus describes the situation:—"The House is watching the face of the Emperor to know if it is time to overthrow the Ministry, while the people watch not less intensely the face of the middle classes to guess if the time has come to overthrow the Government."

In answer to the accusation that the Ollivier Cabinet is not fulfilling the pledges given at its birth, the friends of the Government submit the list of what Ministers have accomplished in forty days in spite of the interruptions of the Left and the riots in the streets. The bills either laid on the table of the Corps Législatif or sent to the Council of State for examination include—the abrogation of the law of general safety; laws on the nomination of mayors; organisation of departments; abolition of cumulative pay; the press, and the accounts of the city of Paris. Besides this, M. Buffet has prepared the budget; Ministers have drawn up a *senatus-consultum*

which will give three deputies to Algeria and give a civil character to the Government of that colony; a decision has been arrived at to diminish the effective of the army; Count Daru has elaborated a new postal treaty with England; and the Government is preparing bills respecting judicial announcements, electoral reform, and the law prohibiting the liberty of association.

At Monday's sitting of the Legislative Body, M. Jules Favre moved his interpellation respecting the home policy of the Government. He expressed his satisfaction at the Chief of the State having recognised the fact that the will of the nation, not his own personal wishes, should rule his decisions. M. Jules Favre added:—

This is a fact of considerable importance, for nothing is more desirable than a peaceful revolution; and liberty, even though restricted, if thus obtained, is worth more than liberty achieved amid the storms of conflict. (Cheers.) The national sovereignty must henceforth alone compel every minority, whether individual or collective, that may attempt resistance—a resistance which, however painful the cost may be, must be combated to the last drop of our blood.

M. Favre then proceeded to reproach the Ministry with not having said yet, with not having proved to the country, that it is the will of the country that governs. He asked whether the Cabinet intended to follow the programme of the Right Centre, or that of the Left Centre. M. Buffet replied, "Both." M. Favre objected to this, that they were contradictory. M. Buffet and Daru replied that such was not the case. In reply to a statement of M. Favre reproaching the Ministry with having caused bloodshed in the streets of Paris, Count Daru said:—"This accusation is unmerited; it was the blood of our agents that flowed." M. Favre then proceeded with his speech, and asked whether the plot discovered in January resembled that of last June; he condemned the 455 arrests which had been made, and said he would prove that most of those who had been imprisoned were utterly inoffensive individuals. The present Cabinet, he added, was less liberal, less tolerant than the personal government to which it had succeeded. In reference to foreign policy M. Jules Favre said:—"Can you undertake that peace will be maintained? We do not know the intentions of the Ministry, nor shall we feel satisfied with regard to them, so long as it delays the revision of the military law and the reorganisation of the National Guard." He concluded his speech as follows:—

If the Ministry wishes to be looked upon as a Parliamentary Government, it must dissolve the Legislative Body, and appeal to the country. When it has accomplished these reforms we will give it our support, but if it maintains the system of personal government, it will find in us persistent and irreconcileable adversaries.

M. Pinard, the late Minister of the Interior, delivered a speech, confining himself to the question of dissolution raised by M. Jules Favre. He said it was impossible the members of the majority should fear a dissolution, as they worked hand in hand with the Ministry. He, however, admitted that the system of official candidatures had been carried on in such a manner as to wound the feelings of the masses; and he added that the programme of the Government ought to be the education of universal suffrage by means of decentralisation. He argued that it was necessary to create local life, and after developing a plan of decentralisation, he concluded his speech by saying:—"We intend to support the Ministry, because it will defend order, and grant liberty."

SPAIN.

According to one of the Madrid papers, the Carlist agitation is increasing, principally in the northern provinces. Several Carlist chiefs have already left the French territory and entered Spain. It is stated that the command of the party favourable to the candidature of Don Carlos in Spain has been declined by General Cabrera, unless there is guaranteed to him a thoroughly disciplined army.

A letter from the Duke de Montpensier has been published, thanking the electors in the Asturias, and declaring that Spain is now, by tradition, adoption, and affection, his only country.

A meeting of the Radical members of the Cortes was held on Monday, under the presidency of Señor Zorrilla, at which all the Ministers, with the exception of Admiral Topete, were present. The meeting discussed the necessity of giving greater cohesion to the party, especially in view of the imminent rupture between it and the Unionists on the subject of the Constitution of Porto Rico. It is rumoured that a modification of the Ministry is impending. The Regent Serrano has returned to Madrid.

GERMANY.

In Friday's sitting of the North German Parliament Dr. Simson was re-elected President, and Duke Ujest and Count Bennigsen Vice-Presidents, by 144, 143, and 101 votes respectively out of 155. No opposition candidate had more than five votes recorded in his favour. The members of the Liberal-Conservative party have agreed for the present not to move any address in answer to the Speech of the King.

Count Bismarck's defeat in the Prussian Upper House has been followed by an even more decisive one in the Lower, on the question of sanctioning an expense of 720,000 thalers for the interest of the railway loan of 1868. Dr. Virchow, the reporter of the Budget Committee, proposed on this occasion that the item should be struck out of the budget, as the loan had been issued in opposition to a resolution of the House. Count Bismarck's speech in reply was remarkably moderate and conciliatory. He

admitted that the expense in question had been "unlawfully and improperly" incurred by the late Minister of Finance, but he hoped the House would consent to give an indemnity under the circumstances. The Government would engage to prevent such violations of right for the future. As to his personal attitude in the matter, he could not accept the responsibility of the act now objected to. "It is not necessary, and indeed hardly possible, that the Minister President should be cognisant of the proceedings of all the Ministries, and especially of so complicated a department as that of Finance.

. . . The work of Ministers must be diminished if their responsibility is not to be a mere word." He utterly denied that the Luxembourg question has had anything to do with the matter, as was asserted by Dr. Virchow. No additional expenses had been incurred by that question. It had been proposed, it is true, to place the army on a war footing; but he (Count Bismarck) had begged that this measure might be delayed for four days, and, in the interval, the question was settled. This speech was very well received, and shortly after, when the debate was adjourned, a very general impression prevailed that the indemnity would be granted. Next day, however, the debate closed with a division, in which the Government proposal was rejected by a large majority.

AMERICA.

Mississippi has by a party vote in the American Senate, been permitted to send representatives to Congress on the same conditions as those prescribed in the case of Virginia.

The Legislature of Georgia has ratified the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment. This makes the twenty-eighth State which has given its vote for the amendment, and, therefore, it becomes a part of the Constitution of the United States, as soon as Georgia is formally admitted.

Mr. Fish has officially informed the representative of the Haytian Republic that the United States by virtue of the Samana Bay treaty have assumed the protectorate over the Baez Government of the Republic of San Domingo, against aggressions from Cabral, Superon, and other insurgents.

The officers of H.M.S. Monarch, who are now with their vessel at Annapolis, have been hospitably received by the citizens of Baltimore and Washington.

THE CANADIAN DOMINION.

Prince Arthur was present on Tuesday at the opening of the Parliament of the Dominion at Ottawa. The Governor-General, Sir John Young, was able to congratulate the united provinces on their prosperity. He hoped for a speedy termination of the difficulties in the North-west Territory, which had arisen through misapprehensions. A new Act would be introduced for the government of the territory. He eulogised warmly the loyalty displayed by the people when they were threatened by the Fenians. Sir John Young referred also with satisfaction to the measures being taken to promote immigration into the Dominion, including as they did schemes for the employment of the immigrants.

Prince Arthur was entertained at a ball by the citizens of Ottawa on Friday night. The Governor-General of the Dominion and Lady Young, and many other distinguished persons, were present.

It would seem from a despatch published in the New York papers of the 2nd inst., that the Red River insurrection is virtually at an end. Rielle, the insurgent Commander-in-Chief and Dictator, has already been deposed from his office, and the Hudson's Bay Government, with Governor McTavish at its head, has been reinstated. Rielle himself has, moreover, been arrested by his disaffected partisans and thrown into Fort Garry. Special correspondence from Pembina, published by the *Toronto Globe* of the 31st ult., is also to hand, and from the statements therein made it would appear that on the 17th of last month the end was considered to be drawing near. The writer states that Rielle was becoming extremely unpopular from his arrogance and vanity, and that many of the insurgents had deserted him in disgust. The Scotch and English were loyal to a man, and nineteen-twentieths of the French half breeds would, it is declared, vote against annexation to America.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

There is news from Australia to January 4. On the 1st a new Parliament had just been elected at Sydney, and it was considered that the class of members chosen gave promise of more satisfactory legislation than that which resulted from the discussions of their predecessors. Mr. Julian Salmons had been appointed Solicitor-General. The flying squadron had sailed for Hobart Town on the 20th of December.

The Melbourne papers state that the Parliament was prorogued on the 29th December. The new Land Bill, after much fighting, and with the help of divers solemn and well-fought conferences between the two Houses, is law at last.

The resolutions proposed by Mr. Higinbotham with regard to the relations between England and her colonies were, shortly before Parliament rose, agreed to without amendment. On the first resolution, declining to send representatives to the proposed Colonial Conference, and reflecting upon the action taken by colonists resident in England with respect to this matter, an amendment was moved, with the view of rendering the resolution less offensive to those gentlemen, but it was negatived by a large majority. The like fate befell an amendment on the second resolution, which declared that the colony was willing to accept the entire responsibility of defending itself from foreign invasion. The amendment

ment was to the effect that the colony would undertake its defence in connection with the Imperial Government; but the great majority of members preferred the original resolution, and, together with the other, it was agreed to.

The news from New Zealand is of a pacific character, and strong hopes are now entertained that the rebellion will soon be crushed out. Mr. M'Lean's (the Defence Minister) tour through the disaffected districts has been productive of much good, and there is now every prospect that friendly relations will in future exist between the colonists and a portion of the Maori race, which has long refused to hold intercourse with them. King Tawhai and some of his leading chiefs have decided to co-operate with either Te Kooti or Tito Kowarn, and have concluded terms of peace, and promised to assist Mr. M'Lean in putting an end to the strife, and restoring tranquillity to the country. Most of the powerful tribes, especially those which have anything to lose, profess themselves tired of fighting, and wish for peace.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The King of Italy and Prince Humbert arrived at Naples on Saturday, and were well received.

A canal through the Isthmus of Corinth is to be commenced within a period of eighteen months, by a French company, who have entered into an engagement for the work with the Greek Government.

The Government of India has offered a reward of 5,000*l.* for an invention of suitable machinery for separating the fibre and bark from the stem, and the fibre from the bark, of Rhea, or "China grass."

DANGEROUS BREACH OF NEUTRALITY.—An agent of the chief Ja-Ja, who is at war with Oko Jumbo, at Bonny, on the West Coast of Africa, left Liverpool in the West African mail-steamer on Tuesday with war material, including several Armstrong guns.

THE INDIAN TELEGRAPH CABLE.—The Great Eastern had on Saturday accomplished more than half the voyage from Bombay to Aden. The paying out of the cable was going on most satisfactorily. 655 knots had been paid out, and at that date the vessel was in about 2,000 fathoms of water.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN SWEDEN.—Jews and all Dissenters will probably ere long be permitted to hold seats in the Swedish Reichstag, and also to occupy ministerial offices. The report of the committee on the Constitution which provides for the eligibility of such candidates, was on the 17th adopted by a large majority of voters.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER, who had on January 12th got as far as Khartoum on his expedition, writes to Alexandria, relating the particulars of the journey—a signally rapid one—from Suez, and expressing sanguine prospects of a successful tour up the White Nile. One thousand men in three steamers and fifty other vessels were to accompany Sir Samuel from Khartoum to Gondokoro. From this point the exploring party were to push on vigorously, leaving the engineers under Mr. Higginbotham to follow.

PRINCE ARTHUR IN THE UNITED STATES.—Prince Arthur, who, as already announced, left New York on the 5th inst., appears to have strengthened the favourable impression he left behind him after his first brief visit. The *New York Times* says that he enjoyed himself very much, escaped all official demonstrations, and was in the hands of private persons, who treated him with the hospitality for which the city is famous. "His conversation," it adds, "is said to be vivacious and intelligent, he has an aplomb far beyond his years, and he is as modest as a lad during his first term at school. Such is the general testimony, and the Prince has fairly won it. Modest and intelligent princes are not so common as to fail to be appreciated when they do make their appearance."

PROGRESS IN INDIA.—Dr. Valentine, of the United Presbyterian mission at Jeypore, India, has founded a native church, and has over a thousand of the youth under his instruction. Through the enlightened public spirit of the Maharajah, he has formed a Social Science Congress, the first result of which was the establishment of a high-school for the sons of the native nobles. He has 121 boys and young men in a school of arts, where they are taught pottery, wood-engraving, wood and ivory carving, carpentry and blacksmithing, electroplating and electrotyping. A significant feature of the school is the entire levelling of caste, the pupils learning all kinds of trades, though directly opposed to their former religious system.

A NEGRO SENATOR.—The *Pall Mall Gazette* says:—"The reality of negro emancipation in the United States is attested by the election of Mr. Wright, a negro, who sits in the General Assembly of South Carolina, as senator from Beaufort county, to be Justice of the Supreme Court of that State. Mr. Wright was born in Pennsylvania, graduated at the Lancaster University in New York, studied law for two years at Montrose, Pennsylvania, and was admitted to the bar in that State, being the first negro thus admitted to practise. At the end of the war he went to South Carolina, and was made legal adviser of the South Carolina freedmen. He was a delegate to the Reconstruction Convention, and was afterwards elected to the State Senate. His election to the Supreme Court of South Carolina was contested by Mr. Whipper, another negro, whom he defeated by fifteen votes, and by Mr. J. L. Orr, former Senator from South Carolina in the Confederate Senate, and at one time the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. Mr. Orr, whose political disabilities have been removed by an Act of Congress, received only three votes."

PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.—The American Bishop Williams says:—"There is a wide-

spread opinion and feeling through Japan, that Christianity is to prevail. The Buddhists, anxious to take the lead among those who embrace it, or rather to gain part of the harvest which they see Christianity must gain, are preaching up points of similarity between Buddhism and Christianity. Mr. Carnes, a Presbyterian missionary, describes a discourse from a leading priest, in which he sets forth how Sahaka, the founder of Buddhism, had taken all the sins of mankind upon himself, and all we had to do was to receive this work by faith. We could not be justified by works of our own, but must do all from a sense of gratitude, and depend upon Sahaka for justification." It is stated in a telegram that the Mikado's Government had despoiled 700 native Christians on the mainland against the unanimous protest of foreign representatives.

THE WEATHER ON THE CONTINENT.—Accounts have come to hand of the extreme severity of the weather throughout Europe. The Seine has been full of masses of floating ice. In Florence there has been a heavy fall of snow, which continued for twelve hours, a most unusual circumstance at any time, it is said, but especially so in the middle of February. In Rome snow has fallen on two successive days. In the Scheldt the masses of floating ice are of immense size—from thirty to forty yards in circumference—and all navigation is necessarily suspended. In Dantzig the theatre was, it is said, closed on account of the excessive cold. The *North German Correspondent* says that as far as the eye can reach at Swinemunde the Baltic is covered with ice, and that some of the more adventurous skaters have crossed to Heringsdorf, a distance of several miles. In Russia the cold is reported to be more intense than it has been known within living memory, and many deaths have occurred through its severity.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH visited Agra on the 21st ult., and festivities of the usual character took place in his honour. It was expected that he would reach Bombay about the 10th of March, and preparations were already making to give him a suitable welcome. Before going to Benares he killed two tigers, two buffaloes, and a quantity of small game. The Indian imagination has been greatly excited by the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh. There is something almost pathetic in the reverential awe with which the native mind contemplates the Prince—investing him with qualities of power and character such as even an English vestry would hesitate to set forth on finding itself in contact with royalty. A curious illustration of this is noticed in the *Bombay Gazette*. A worthy Deccan chief, overpowered by the presence of the Queen's son, wished to do "something memorable as a token of his best regard for his Royal Highness"; but, unhappily, he is "not enabled to do something worthy of the name of his ancestors." "Something," however, he must do; and the "something" takes the form of a public clock, to be put up at Poonah.

Miscellaneous.

THE THORNCLIFFE COLLIERY DIFFERENCE.—The mediation of Lord Wharncliffe and Mr. Stanhope in the case of the Thorncliffe Colliery dispute seems likely to lead to beneficial results. An agreement has been drawn up, and the men object only to the minor conditions proposed, so that it is expected the difficulty will soon be got over.

THE BEQUEST TO THE MARQUIS OF BUTE.—The amount of the bequest by the late Mr. W. E. Williams to the millionaire Marquis has, the *Cardiff Guardian* says, been greatly exaggerated. The total value is nearer 40,000*l.* than 200,000*l.* The deceased gentleman was very eccentric, and only a few days before his death he stated to a chemist that he was satisfied the secret of prolonging life to an indefinite period would be shortly discovered. He deluded himself to the last that his illness was entirely, as he expressed it, "atmospheric."

The agricultural statistics of Ireland, for the year 1868, were issued yesterday. There were 5,547,971 acres under crops, 9,999,393 grass or pasture, 22,111 fallow, 322,258 in woods and plantations, and 4,428,192 in bog and waste unoccupied. The number of holdings not exceeding one acre had decreased by 961 since 1867, and the number not exceeding fifteen acres by 2,391. The total number of holdings in Ireland in 1868 was 594,341, being 2,777 less than in the preceding year.

PROSECUTION FOR BRIBERY.—Sir Henry Edwards, Bart., the late Tory member for Beverley, is, it is understood, to be prosecuted by the Government for bribery, at the approaching assize at York. The information charges him with illegally disbursing, through his agent, funds amounting to 7*l.*s. among seven or eight voters, at the municipal election at Beverley, in 1868, to influence the Parliamentary election there. By the mutual consent of Sir Henry and the Attorney-General, the case will be tried before a special jury.

THE ROBERT HALL MEMORIAL AT LEICESTER.—The colossal model for the marble statue of this distinguished preacher was, a few days ago, inspected by a deputation from the memorial committee, and pronounced highly satisfactory. The sculptor will now proceed in earnest with the ultimate work. The subscription list is progressing steadily; and among other recent contributors may be mentioned the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Bishop of St. David's, the Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Justice Mellor, Mr. Justice Lush, and the sum of ten guineas by T. T. Paget, Esq. Something over 200*l.*, however, is re-

quired to complete the 1,000*l.*, the estimated cost of the entire work.

THE AMENDMENT OF THE LICENSING LAWS.—A meeting was held on Thursday afternoon of the National Association for Promoting the Amendment of the Laws relating to the Liquor Traffic. The object of the association is to place the power of granting licences in the hands of local representative boards, and resolutions and a memorial to Parliament to that effect were adopted. The Archbishop of York presided at the meeting, and expressed his satisfaction at the passing of the Beerhouses Act of last session. The Bishop of Exeter spoke of the temptations which were laid before the working classes by the excessive number of public-houses.

"WOMEN'S DISABILITIES."—The bill which Mr. Jacob Bright has laid before the House of Commons "to remove the electoral disabilities of women" is very short. It has no preamble. The proposed law runs thus:—"That in all acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

POOR LAW RELIEF IN THE METROPOLIS.—A deputation from several metropolitan unions on Monday waited upon Mr. Goschen, asking, amongst other information, for a definition of some of the phrases, such as "actually destitute," "minimum," and "adequate," used in the recent circular issued by the Poor Law Board. The right hon. gentleman promised to furnish a written answer. He added that the majority of the unions had received his suggestions as enunciating the principles upon which they had previously acted, and he would soon submit a measure to Parliament which would elicit the opinion of guardians and of the public generally. The returns of metropolitan pauperism, so far as made up for last week, show an increase in the number of persons receiving relief, as compared with last year, of 12,793. The total number was 167,894, of whom 130,448 were out-door paupers.

ROYAL GALLEY OF ILLUSTRATION.—Mr. German Reed's entertainments invariably enjoy a long "run," and they are justly entitled to it; but the lessee has seldom been so fortunate as in the production of "Cox and Box," which, adapted from an old and very popular farce, has here undergone a complete metamorphosis, and appears with the charm of Mr. Sullivan's melodious composition. It is now well known throughout the musical world, and to thousands who enjoy music without studying it. Nothing can be richer and more amusing than the new reading which Mr. Reed and Mr. Cecil give to the roles of the well-known hatter and printer. "Cox and Box" passed its 250th representation last week, and was received with unflagging interest by crowded audiences. Mr. German Reed, we hear, has another novelty on the tapis; but, with the prolonged success of his present entertainment, we must not expect it before Easter.

IRISH NEWS.—A man named Mullins was shot dead on Usher's Quay, Dublin, on Sunday night. It is believed that the assassination is the result of some dispute connected with the Fenian conspiracy. Four men have been arrested on suspicion, but no arms were found in possession of either of the prisoners.—The four released Fenian convicts from Australia, after a popular reception in the streets and at the Theatre, Dublin, were entertained at dinner in Dublin, and amongst the company were sons of O'Donovan Rossa and Luby, whose presence, on account of the conviction of their fathers, was regarded with special interest. On Monday they arrived at Cork, and were received outside the railway station by an immense crowd, who escorted them, amid great enthusiasm, to the hotel. A large police-force was present.—After five hours' deliberation, the Dublin jury in the case of Barrett, charged with shooting at Captain Lambert, were discharged on Monday night, without having agreed upon a verdict. Two were for the acquittal of the prisoner, and ten for his conviction.

THE MORDAUNT DIVORCE CASE.—This notorious case was before the Divorce Court last week. It occupied several days, and has created much sensation. It is a suit instituted by Sir Charles Mordaunt against his wife on the ground of adultery, Lord Cole and Sir Frederick Johnstone, Bart., being the co-respondents. A plea of insanity was set up on behalf of Lady Mordaunt, and a great number of influential medical men gave evidence on the subject, which at length induced the prosecution to admit the plea so far as the present condition of the respondent is concerned. The confessions of Lady Mordaunt to her husband as given in his evidence implicated the Prince of Wales, who appears to have been a frequent, and to a certain extent clandestine, visitor at her house. But his Royal Highness appears to have been an old acquaintance of her family. A number of letters written to Lady Mordaunt by the Prince were put in evidence, but were not read, though they have since been published in the daily papers. Apart from the impropriety of such letters having been written at all under such circumstances, and unknown to Sir Charles, they contain nothing of a compromising character. On Saturday the inquiry was adjourned to this day. It is reported that arrangements are pending which will obviate the necessity of any further prolongation of this painful and disgusting trial, and that the Prince of Wales will to-day appear in court and demand to make a statement in vindication of himself.

Literature.

ECCLESIA.*

(First Notice.)

This volume will probably excite a good deal of attention. It is worthy of wide circulation and careful study. As the names of the editor and publishers suggest, it is a series of essays on the Polity and Theology of Congregational Churches. Two classes of persons might read it with advantage—those Anglicans who have been wont to think of Congregationalists only as sectaries, and Congregationalism as fitted to nourish nothing better than a denominational spirit; and those Independents who dream that Congregational churches are already perfect in order, discipline, and practice, who confound the principles of Christian societies freely administering the law of Christ, and regulating their own procedure, with dogged adherence to customs and traditions, time-honoured or antiquated, which, however, may be wholly unfit to present demands, and quite unworthy of large-hearted, intelligent Christian men. The distinguishing characteristic of the book is Catholicity. The volume has evidently been issued with the desire of shedding light on English "Church Problems," not merely of commanding even ideal Congregationalism. It is a vindication of Congregational principles, but it is something more. The writers of these essays believe that they can say something to guide the thoughts of men who see that the Church of the British nation must henceforth be a free church, and who would welcome the light which the past experience of free Churchmen can throw on the present confusion of parties. They are far more anxious to advance leading principles of church life and order than to commend their own system. They have a patriotic desire to help towards the preparation of a future history of the churches in England better than its past has been; and they frankly present their suggestions for criticism, as well as for adoption. They are as free in the exposure of the weaknesses and errors of Congregational practice as of the defects and blunders of other systems. *O si sic omnia*, we have said, while perusing these papers. Would that Congregational ministers and churches were ever at their best.

Four of these essays are on ecclesiastical topics. Dr. Stoughton writes on "The Primitive Ecclesia: its Authoritative Principles, and its Modern Representations." "The Idea of the Church regarded in its Historical Development" is the subject of a paper by Mr. J. Radford Thomson. "Church and State" is treated by Mr. Eustace R. Conder; and "The Congregationalism of the Future" by Mr. J. Guinness Rogers. These are the essays to be noticed in this article. Of the remaining five, which will be subsequently reviewed, two are theological. The Editor writes on "The Forgiveness and Absolution of Sins," and Mr. R. W. Dale on "The Doctrine of the Real Presence and the Lord's Supper"; and three are concerned with church life. Mr. Baldwin Brown communicates a paper on "The Religious Life and Christian Society;" another is on "The Worship of the Church," by Mr. Allon; and the last, by Dr. Mullens, treats of "Modern Missions and their Results."

Minute criticism is not possible within the limits at our command, or we should yield to the temptation to discuss some of the questions started as to the constitution and officers of the Apostolic Church. We have marked a difference in the treatment of a troublesome text in three of the essays. To those who seek modern Independent theories formally laid down in the New Testament, the verse, Acts ix. 31, is a stumbling-block; for the best MSS. read, not "the churches," but, "the church, had rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria." Mr. Conder ignores this; Mr. Thomson enters a *caveat* against drawing a conclusion from it; Dr. Stoughton accepts it. Dr. Stoughton suggests that the word *ecclesia* is not used in any technical sense before Acts xiv. 21. We would go further, and ask whether in any part of the New Testament the word has acquired a technical sense that must absolutely determine its signification apart from the study of the context. The strong national life of the Jews, memories of the former unity of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, kindled anew by the hope of national restoration through the Messiah, may account for the use of the word "Church" rather than "Churches" in this connection.

* *Ecclesia: Church Problems Considered in a Series of Essays.* Edited by HENRY ROBERT REYNOLDS, D.D., President of Cheshunt College; Fellow of University College, London. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

Greek public life was eminently municipal; may not this also account for the municipal limitations of the word in communities where Greek influence was prevalent—as the vision of the universal empire determined, in subsequent times, the Roman use of the word? Though we do not quite see the force of Dr. Stoughton's argument (p. 15) against the technical use of the word in the phrase, "the church in the house," we agree with his conclusion. The phrase seems to us a play of humour, a subtle suggestion to Christians that large households and social circles were to be regarded as sacred, as containing in themselves varied gifts for common edification. "You have a church in your house," Paul says to Philemon, when he is urging him to a specially Christian act towards a member of his family.

Dr. Stoughton glances at the State-Church question from a religious rather than a political stand-point. We commend the following passage to those who advocate an Establishment of religion in the interests of truth:—

"It is very remarkable that the ablest advocates of Establishments appreciate lightly the value of dogmatic truth, while the ablest advocates of dogmatic truth indicate sympathies with voluntarism, or are its avowed advocates. The prevailing currents of opinion and feeling seem to show, on the one side, that the English Establishment, should it remain, by being modified, or by being reconstructed, according to the advanced spirit of the age, will become more and more latitudinarian, and will give up old distinctive dogmas; and on the other side, that faith in doctrinal Christianity will be left to be embodied in voluntary churches, they evidently having the strongest sympathy with it. . . . It would look as if a State Church could not stand consistently with faith in dogmatic truth, and as if voluntary Churches could not stand without such faith."

To those who value the Royal supremacy, or supremacy of National Law, in relation to rights of citizenship which men do not forfeit, and should not forfeit by union with a Church, the following passage may be interesting, as showing that Congregationalists value this, and do, in fact, possess it, equally with members of the Established Churches. It also contains a wise and profitable suggestion for those who would resent the invention of the law to decide, when needed, in questions of Church property, as unfaithfulness to the crown-rights of Christ.

"The power of secular courts to decide disputes respecting pecuniary ecclesiastical interests, only implies the supremacy of the Sovereign over all temporal causes, and concedes no supremacy over those which are purely spiritual. To allow the latter, in any degree, volunteers would deem disloyalty to the Lord Christ, the only Lord of conscience; to allow the former is, in the judgment of most, if not all of them, to leave His crown-rights entirely untouched.

"Nor, in a state of society where temporal and spiritual matters are, in subtle ways, inextricably interwoven, can the interposition of the State to prevent social oppression, or civil disadvantage, on the part of one Church towards another, or on the part of any Church towards its members, be censured or questioned by thoughtful people, however jealous they may be of any foreign infringement upon moral domains."

Mr. Conder's essay is singularly timely; timely, not only in that it deals with one of the great questions of the day—"the relation of the Church to the State"—but also in that it seizes and embodies the spirit of the controversy, and so anticipates its course. What Mr. Conder says here, many men will be saying in the coming months. The Christian patriotism of Nonconformists, their desire that nations should be ruled by Christ, though often overlooked, has been signally displayed in critical times of English history, and has not failed of acknowledgment by thoughtful observers. In past controversies, it is true, Dissenters have had almost wholly to repudiate sympathy with the mode in which it was sought to give expression to the idea of a Christian state; theirs has been the painful task of protest against what was rather than of exposition of what should be. Now that the work of destruction seems drawing to a close, and the vision of a true Christian nation is rising before them, they are compelled to repudiate the bald, blank denial that civil government and religion have nothing to do with each other; Mr. Conder points out the difference between a State establishment of religion and national godliness, and then draws the following picture:—

"Let us be permitted to imagine a nation in which the Christian Church in all its various forms is recognised as a purely spiritual institution. Not penny is ever paid by the State for the support or encouragement of Christian worship. The office of the Christian ministry neither entitles nor forbids a single citizen to hold a seat in the Legislature, or any other public office. Each man's status in society is determined by his character, abilities, and wealthier calling, irrespective of religious views. Christianity is alike unaided and unhindered. Then suppose that in every household—or with but rare exceptions—there is daily reading of the Scriptures, and family prayer; that in every school—the State neither enjoining or prohibiting—the training of conscience and character is regarded as the necessary foundation of education, and every scholar is taught to think of Christ as his model and his master. Judges and magistrates, counsel and jurymen, come into court believing that the judgment is the Lord's. Capitalists acknowledge the supreme claim of Him who says, 'the

silver is mine, and the gold is mine.' Merchants believe that the blessing of the Lord maketh rich; tradesmen think a just balance is the Lord's; workmen, that what our hand findeth to do, must be done with our might as unto the Lord. On the Lord's day, by common consent, and force of public opinion, every wheel of the vast machine rests, and the levity even of innocent amusement is sobered by the presence of a higher joy, and rich and poor meet together in the house of God, to seek his blessing on their earthly life, and to be reminded of the better country. Who does not see that the former nation, with all its forms Christianised, would be thoroughly un-Christian, and that the latter—if such there were—would be in truth a Christian nation, not by force of laws and institutions, but by the free action of Christianity; by the power of the truth and spirit of Christ in the hearts and homes of its citizens, and then of necessity on the whole breadth and depth of national life."

Mr. Conder's paper contains some valuable suggestions on the preparation in the Old Testament, for the idea of the New Testament Church, and for the use of the name. It has also a thorough examination of the theory identifying the Church and the State, in the light of Jewish history. Its great worth, however, lies in the earnest sympathy with national life which it breathes, and its demonstration of the power of free Christian churches to nurture and develop this.

Mr. Roger's essay, on "The Congregationalism of the Future," deserves a more extended notice than we can here give it. There is a little too much readiness in it to go out of the way to fight with Mr. Matthew Arnold and argue with the believers in "Salem Chapel," both of whom have already been sufficiently criticised by Dissenters; but the paper is a dignified and outspoken criticism of certain defects which must be amended, if Congregationalism is to do its proper work in England, and an earnest vindication of the Congregational principles from the shame which sometimes rightly belongs to the practices of Congregationalists. The paper is, in fact, a plea for Catholicity. "One of the first points to which Congregationalists have to look is, undoubtedly, the cultivation of a more Catholic spirit, by which is meant not merely that universal charity which would prompt them to honour the conscientious differences of men from whom they are most widely separated, and to seek a thorough and hearty co-operation with all, but also a disposition to bring themselves, as far as may be practicable, in consistency with their principles, into harmony with the majority of the Christian world." It is in this spirit he treats the question that has of late been much discussed at Congregational unions—who should be admitted to the fellowship of a Congregational Church, and how should they be admitted? Mr. Rogers is no advocate of multitudinism; he insists that true spiritual life is the only qualification for membership, but he wholly denies the right of churches to sit in judgment on applicants; he advocates a generous policy of admission because this would throw the responsibility of membership on the applicants themselves. We heartily sympathise with, and gladly quote, the following words, in which the whole discussion is placed on its right footing:—

"A church is meant to be a gathering of those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and it should aim to embrace in its fellowship all who desire that privilege, and who possess this one qualification for enjoying it. It should not be more anxious to be pure than to be complete, and therefore should seek to include all who are Christians, as well as to exclude all who are not. It is not in any sense a private society, partaking of the character of a club, and entitled to lay down conditions which shall give it a selectness beyond that which is required by the law of its constitution. Admission to its communion is not a privilege which it can give or withhold at pleasure, or in relation to which it can lay down arbitrary laws, but a right which every Christian can demand. That church cannot answer to the true idea of a church of Christ, which has regulations that exclude from it those whom Christ has received to His fellowship. The principle seems obvious, but it has been and is constantly ignored in practice. Christian societies have continually acted, and do still act, on the assumption that they have rights of legislation as well as administration, that they can exact certain things from their members beyond what Christ has prescribed in the New Testament, and that they are justified in depriving recusants of the benefits of Church fellowship. But, surely, if the spirituality of a church is impaired by the introduction to its ranks of those who are not Christians, its catholicity is destroyed, on the other hand, when its laws interfere with the admission of those who are."

By its possession or lack of this "note" of Catholicity, Congregationalism will stand or fall. Unhappily, there are many Congregationalists who have no higher ambition for their system than that it should be prosperous among the sects, who do not desire to see it gather in all Christian men, itself broadening and improving in the process, but only such as can work the machinery now existing. It would be a disturbance to present modes of action, it would conflict with present modes of thinking, to admit men of different habits from the conventional Congregationalist. Finality is the rock on which these split; they do not want the

light which might come from the introduction of another style of man into their churches ; "Paul or Apollo or Cephas," is not for them, but only one well-known and easily-comprehended type. No Church will, for the future, have influence in this land that does not love the nation better than itself ; no Church will have power in Christendom that is not Catholic in the sense Mr. Rogers defines. There are Congregationalists and Congregationalists ; a large and increasing number are Catholic and not sectarian.

Mr. Rogers ably discusses also the question of "Comprehension," and illustrates the Congregationalist reliance for Church unity in a common spirit and not in a common creed.

If we do not notice Mr. Thomson's paper at length, it is not for lack of appreciation of its ability. It evinces diligence, carefulness, and a judgment disciplined to impartiality ; but it is laid out on too large a plan for its position here. A volume, rather than an essay, would be required for the treatment of the theme ; and Mr. Thomson has not been happy in bringing into clear prominence the idea he would develop. There are points of interest in it ; the estimate of Montanism, for instance, and the discussion of the proposals for "the Reunion of Christendom." The paper suffers, however, from its association with others of so immediate interest.

BRIEF NOTICES.

The Sunset Land on the Great Pacific Slope. By the Rev. JOHN TODD, D.D. (London : Hodder and Stoughton.) Dr. Todd has recently paid a visit to California, and has been much impressed, not only with the natural beauty and fertility of the country and the enterprise of its inhabitants, but with its magnificent capabilities of development. He remarks upon the increasing extent to which Chinese labour is employed on the Pacific Slope, and is very sanguine as to the results which are to flow from this experiment. Dr. Todd writes in a lively style, has good descriptive powers, and, probably, very good health. He cannot be a young man, but he is buoyant, and even jubilant, as a writer.

The Australian Handbook and Almanack for 1870. (London : Gordon and Gotch.) The increasing extent of our relations with the colonies has naturally occasioned the publication of this useful annual, which bids fair to supply a want long experienced. The general information contained in the handbook is of the most comprehensive character, especially the portion relating to emigration, in which is to be found everything which the intending Australian emigrant should become acquainted with. The calendar contains the times of departure and arrival of the different Australian mails prominently marked ; there is also a copious list of the principal events in Australia during the last twelve months, together with an immense amount of information to be found in no other publication, and which has evidently been collected with much labour and care.

The Autobiography of Flora McDonald. Being the home life of a heroine. Edited by her granddaughter. (Edinburgh : W. P. Nimmo.) When this book first appeared it was accepted by many and commented upon as the production of Flora Macdonald herself, and when this was found not to be the case strong censures were pronounced on the author. We must say we fail to see their justice. Perhaps the selection of the title was unwise, but we can hardly see how faith in the genuineness of the autobiography could have survived the perusal of the "Editorial and Prefatory Chapter." The conversation of the two Highland ladies on the fine summer evening, the request of the younger to the elder (Flora Macdonald) that she would publish her memoirs, the hesitation gradually passing into assent to the request, the preparation of the MSS., and its preservation in the "family record chest until released "from its dusty corner," ought to have been sufficient to indicate the character of the book. It is a story founded on facts, many of which were not generally known beyond the family circle of the heroine, and it tells, in a simple, touching style, the adventures and sacrifices of a noble and devoted woman, who is not the less to be honoured because the prince for whom she dared and suffered so much was utterly unworthy of the feeling of chivalrous loyalty which he inspired. The author has shown a good deal of artistic skill in the construction of her narrative, and if we have not here any contribution to the history of the period, we have at all events a pleasant and readable book, which gives a new view of the most romantic episodes in connection with the last struggles of that Stuart family, for which the Scotch had so little affection while they were their own rulers, but whom they were so desirous to maintain on the throne of Great Britain.

An Arm-chair in the Smoking-Room ; or, Fiction, Anecdote, Humour, and Fancy. (Stanley Rivers and Co.) This book corresponds to its title. It is just suited to a leisure hour, when the mind wants diversion and recreation, and, if taken up simply with this view, may be thoroughly enjoyed. Its papers are brief and varied. Short tales and essays, lively gossiping papers, and clever sketches from life, make up an agreeable and interesting miscellany, in which a reader may find what

will help him to pass very pleasantly an hour in a railway-carriage, or perhaps in his own smoking-room.

The Elements of Inductive Logic. By J. FOWLER M.A. (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press.) The great aim of this little work is to give a general idea of the principles on which our scientific knowledge rests, and of the mode in which its inquiries are to be conducted. It is a companion to the author's earlier manual of deductive logic, but it is more valuable, inasmuch as it traverses less familiar ground, and serves more clearly to indicate the practical value of logic as a science. Mr. Fowler has taken great pains to make his book complete. He commences by indicating the nature of inductive influence. He then traces the processes that are subsidiary to it, enumerates the methods by which it proceeds, shows where it is imperfect, and gives a long list of the fallacies by which those who profess to employ it are often deceived themselves, or deceive others. It is a book to be mastered not only by students, but by all who would be sound reasoners ; and it is so much enriched by illustrative examples, that it has not the dryness which generally belongs to books on logic.

Christopher Kingscote ; or, the Patience of Hope. By EMMA MARSHALL. (London : Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) Mrs. Marshall's tales are all marked by simple, practical purpose, and are good specimens of the religious story. Of course, the religion has a certain ecclesiastical colouring, but it is no part of the authoress's aim to advocate the views of a party. Her aim is rather to inculcate religious principles, and this she does with considerable force and beauty.

Ralph Saunders ; or, the Schoolboy's Friends. (London : The Book Society.) This story is of a class which we hoped was rather going out of fashion. Boys need to have a higher and truer view of life than one in which prosperity is represented as the concomitant of goodness. A picture of the struggle against adversity would be more true to fact, and more healthful in its influence. Especially is it undesirable to secure the reward for virtue by such a vulgar sensational expedient as the discovery of an old will—a device which has been resorted to so often, that we wonder story-tellers of all classes are not somewhat wearied of it, the more so as, in real life, such incidents are so rare.

PROGRESS OF COLONIAL ART ILLUSTRATION.—The Christmas supplement of the *Illustrated Sydney News* affords a good specimen of the progress made in art illustration by our Australian brethren. It consists of a picture in colours, entitled, "The Bushman's Dream," engraved by Mr. S. Calvert, from an original drawing by Mr. T. S. Cousins, of Melbourne, and represents a bushman fallen asleep in his log hut, and dreaming of the home and friends left behind him in the old country. On the rough-hewn table is an open map, a few books, and a photographic album with the portrait of a young woman. The other accessories of the scene tell their own tale, the result being a picture as touching as it is artistic, and one which does credit to colonial taste and skill.

Gleanings.

A fine new suspension bridge is to be built between Chelsea and Battersea.

The title of Mr. Dickens's new serial is to be "The Mystery of Edwin Drood."

The American poet, William Cullen Bryant, has just published a translation of the Iliad.

Mr. Benedict is putting the finishing touches to his oratorio, "St. Peter," which will be produced at the next Birmingham Festival.

Mdlle. Nilsson, the charming prima donna, is, according to *L'Histoire*, about to be married to "a rich young man well known to the financial world."

It is said that fifteen guineas per cent. insurance has been demanded on the overdue American steamer City of Boston.

Of 6,658 persons confined in the Pittsburg "lock-up" during the past year more than 5,500 were under the influence of liquor.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* states that one firm alone in London sells eighty tons weekly of animal fat, melted down, whitened, and refined, for the express purpose of mixture with butter. A large portion of this stuff is sent to dairymen in the country.

Some San Francisco newsboys sell other articles than newspapers, and astonish Eastern visitors by crying :—"Here's yer Evening Tribune and cough candy ; cures coughs, colds, and sore throat—latest 'count of the earthquake ; only five cents, a copy or six sticks for a quarter."

A bumptious young fellow was boasting one evening at a well-known club of his philosophical tendencies, and wound up a long string of self-congratulations by the remark that he was a sort of Plato. "It must be electro-plate-oh," remarked one of the group of listeners.

A QUALIFIED TEACHER.—The following is said to be a verbatim copy of an application made to the Truro Board of Guardians for an appointment as industrial teacher in the workhouse :—"Feb 4, 1870. Sir I offer myself to you for that place to the board which I am well qualified for my adge is 402."

TELEGRAPHING EXTRAORDINARY.—The other day, at noon, an Edinburgh firm sent to a correspondent in London, a telegram, concisely and clearly worded, on a business matter. It reached London twenty-

four hours afterwards, in the following condition :— "Case answer take that cannot points up liferent come in must of on B. be a to-morrow last stated sum send letter at was us ground once accepted definite we C. for instructions are letters furniture to to bear."

No More SEA-SICKNESS.—Allusion is made in the *Railway News* to a patent brought out by Mr. Henry Bessemer (the inventor of the steel process), which, if it answers all the expectations formed of it, promises to make a complete revolution in steam navigation. The article states :—"Mr. Bessemer proposes to do away at once and for ever with sea-sickness. By an application of the principle upon which a ship's compasses are suspended, he provides a room which will be perfectly free from the rolling or pitching motion of the vessel."

A YOUNG SAMARITAN.—The teacher of some "City Arabs," in a school connected with a church in Glasgow, selected on Sunday the parable of the Good Samaritan as the subject of his lesson. After telling the little fellows the story, the teacher, with the view of turning the lesson to some practical account, put to the class the following question :—"What would you do if you saw a man or a woman lying in a street or road, wounded and bleeding like the traveller described in the parable?" The subject appeared to be new to them, and for a minute or so they looked at each other and hesitated to reply. The teacher repeated the question, addressing himself to a boy whose countenance seemed to indicate that he had hit on the proper line of action in such a case. "What would you do, Archie?" "I would blow a whistle for the bobbies," was the prompt reply.

NOTICE.—All announcements intended for this column must be accompanied by a remittance of half-a-crown in postage-stamps.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTH.

CLOPHAM.—February 22, at 34, Milne-square, Islington, the wife of John Clapham, of a son.

DEATHS.

CROSSLEY.—February 16, at Arden House, Halifax, Sarah, the beloved wife of Robert Crossley, aged sixty-one. **DOULTON.**—February 19, at the house of a friend, Edinburgh, after a few days' illness, John Kenneth Doulton, eldest son of the late John Doulton, jun., of Lambeth, and West Park, Mortlake, and grandson of John Doulton, Esq., of Lambeth, and of the late Kenneth Matheson, Esq., of Glasgow, aged twenty-five.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's *Advertiser*.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 87, for the week ending Wednesday, Feb. 16.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued £23,815,050	Government Debt £11,015,100
	Other Securities .. 2,926,000
	Gold Coin & Bullion 18,815,050

£23,815,050

£23,815,050

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital £14,555,000	Government Securities ..
Bank .. 8,394,522	(inc. dead weight annuity) £14,331,314
Public Deposits .. 9,391,155	Other Securities .. 17,783,223
Other Deposits .. 16,512,989	Seven Day and other Notes .. 11,771,223
	Bills .. 457,439
	Gold & Silver Coin 960,308

£44,339,103

£44,339,103

Feb. 17, 1870.

GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—COMFORT, HEALTH, AND SAFETY.—These blessings are beyond all price in money value. Possessing these, no reflective person will complain of his position or pecuniary circumstances. Holloway's famous remedies can everywhere be purchased at a trifling cost, and with them most disorders may be immediately set right, and most diseases defied. Skin affections, sores, ulcers, superficial and deep-seated inflammation, with a long list of other ailments, readily succumb to the virtues of his Ointment, while internal complaints yield with facility to his Pills. Invalids having these invaluable remedies at hand cannot be at a loss for effectively treating their maladies, whatever their nature or duration, since "directions for use" envelope every packet.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, Feb. 21.

We had only a small supply of English wheat for to-day's market, and also short arrivals from abroad. The trade was not active, and English wheat made slowly the price of Monday last. Foreign wheat met a retail demand at former rates. In flour trade was dull without change in prices. Peas and beans were steady in value. Barley was 6d. per quarter lower. Indian corn sold at last week's quotations. Arrivals of oats are unusually small. The demand being restricted to immediate wants of the trade, prices were barely supported, and in some cases a decline of 8d. to 6d. per quarter from the prices of this day week had to be submitted to. Cargoes on the coast are much reduced in number, and are held at last week's prices.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.		
Esex and Kent ..	s. d.	s. d.		
red, old ..	44	46	31	32
Ditto new ..	36	43	38	39
White, old ..	45	48	38	36
„ new ..	38	47	38	36
Foreign red ..	38	40	32	34
„ white ..	42	43	31	33

PEAS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Grey ..	s. d.	s. d.
Maple
White
Boilers
Foreign, boilers

RYE ..	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
..
	31	32

OATS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
English feed ..	18	19
„ potato ..	22	23
Scotch feed ..	.. ..	.. ..
„ potato ..	.. ..	.. ..

MALT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Pale ..	.. ..	.. ..
Chevalier ..	.. ..	.. ..
Brown ..	48	54

„ white ..	.. ..	.. ..
Foreign feed ..	.. ..	.. ..

FLOUR—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Ticks ..	22	24
Harrow ..	35	37
Small ..	.. ..	.. ..
Egyptian ..	34	37

Town made ..	27	28
Country Marks ..	32	33
Norfolk & Suffolk ..	27	28

BREAD. Saturday, Feb. 19.—The prices in the Metropolis are, for wheaten bread, per 4lbs. loaf, 7d. to 7½d.; Household bread, 5½d. to 6d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET. Monday, Feb. 21.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 8,426 head. In the corresponding week in 1869 we received 6,612; in 1868, 843; in 1867, 4,118; and in 1866, 8,469 head. Although the supply of stock has been short of an average, and the general quality has been satisfactory, there has been a want of animation in the cattle trade to-day, and the tendency of prices has been unfavourable. As regards beasts, the arrivals from our own grazing districts have been on a moderate scale, but owing to the severe weather the supply of foreign has been limited. For all breeds the trade has been dull. The extreme quotation for the best Scots and Crosses has been 5s. 2d., many smaller choice animals being disposed of at 5s. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,200 Scots and crosses; from other parts of England 500 various breeds, from Scotland 210 Scots and crosses, and from Ireland 100 head. The market has been fairly supplied with sheep, but prime Downs have been scarce. Although the demand has not been active, the trade has been steady, and prices have been supported; the best Downs and half-breeds selling at 5s. 10d. to 6s. per 8lbs. Lambs have sold at about 7s. 6d. to 8s. per 8lbs. Calves have been quiet; but firm. Pigs have been in limited request, at previous quotations.

Per 8lbs. to sink the offal.

	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Inf. coarse beasts	8	2	2 10
Second quality	4	0	4 6
Prime large oxen	4	8	4 10
Prime Sc. &c. &c.	5	0	5 2
Course inf. sheep	4	4	4 0
Second quality	4	2	4 6
Pr. coarse woolled	5	2	5 6
Quarter-old store pigs	20s.	to 26s.	each.

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET. Monday, Feb. 21.—The market has been moderately supplied with meat. The trade has been heavy at our quotations. The import into London last week consisted of 43 packages from Harlingen, and 56 from Nieuw Dijp.

PROVISIONS. Monday, February 21.—The arrival last week from Ireland were 381 firkins butter, and 3,515 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 21,004 packages butter, 350 bales and 82 boxes bacon. There was more business transacted in Irish butter last week at irregular prices, according to condition and qualities. The arrival of foreign were irregular, owing to the severe weather. Prices generally advanced about 1s per cwt. There was an improved demand for bacon, and, at the close of the week, an advance of 2s was generally established. Boat Waterford sold at 7s. to 7s. on board.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET. Monday, February 21.—Our market continues without any material change, new English English alone, by reason of exhaustion, maintaining full values, but all other sorts are drooping under the continued dullness of trade. New Americans, even of the first quality, are difficult of sale, but their comparative scarcity keeps them tolerably firm. Inferior grades, however, and yearlings of all kinds are totally neglected. European markets are unaltered, Bavarian hops continuing firm. French and Belgians quiet. New York advices (6th instant) report a quiet market at late rates. Mid and East Kent, 7s. 0s., 9s. 10s., to 13s. 0s.; Weald, 6s. 0s., 7s. 10s., to 8s. 5s.; Sussex, 5s. 10s., 6s. 10s., to 7s. 0s.; Bavarians, 6s. 10s., 8s. 8s., to 10s. 10s.; French, 5s. 0s., 6s. 0s., to 7s. 0s.; Americans, 4s. 10s., 5s. 10s., to 6s.; Yearlings, 11s. 10s., 2s. 15s., to 3s. 10s. The import of foreign hops into London last week consisted of 42 bales from Antwerp, 30 from Boulogne, 233 from Bremen, 18 from Calais, 27 from Dunkirk, and 72 from Ostend.

POTATOES.—**BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS.**—Monday, Feb. 21.—Supplies have come freely to market. There has been a moderate demand for most descriptions, at full prices. The import into London last week consisted of 720 bags from Antwerp, and 121 sacks from Dunkirk. English Shaws, 70s. to 80s. per ton; English Regents, 100s. to 120s. per ton; English rocks, 60s. to 70s. per ton; Scotch Regents, 90s. to 110s. per ton; French, 60s. to 70s. per ton.

SEED. Monday, Feb. 21.—English cloverseed continues to come out very slowly; fine qualities inquired for, and would bring high prices; foreign red samples are held with much firmness; importers still looking for advanced rates. White descriptions were very dear. Choice English trefoil was held for more money. White mustardseed realised extreme rates. Canaryseed kept up in value for choice samples of English, as well as the best sorts of foreign.

WOOL. Monday, Feb. 21.—The English wool trade has ruled quiet but firm. Some demand continues to be experienced for choice qualities, including lustres and demi-lustres, so the quotations are firmly maintained. The attention of manufacturers is now chiefly directed to the public sales of colonial wool which opened on Thursday last. The attendance at this series has been good, and both home and foreign buyers have operated with freedom. Prices have consequently had an upward tendency, though no quotable advance has taken place.

OIL. Monday, Feb. 21.—For linseed oil the market has been quiet, and rape has been lower in value. Cocoa-nut, palm, and other oils, have sold at about late rates.

TALLOW. Monday, Feb. 21.—The market has been dull. W.C. on the spot 4s. per cwt. Town tallow, 4s. net cash.

COAL. Monday, Feb. 21.—Reduction 1s. on last day's sales. Market heavy, with downward tendency, in anticipation of large arrivals of ships for next day's market. Belmont New Wallsend 18s. 3d., Hetton 20s. 6d., Harton 18s. 3d., Haswell 20s. 6d., Hartlepool original 20s. 6d., ditto East 19s. 6d., Eden Main 18s. 6d., Hartley's 15s. Ships fresh arrived, 7s.; ships at sea, 10s.

Advertisements.

MONARCH INSURANCE COMPANY.

(LIMITED.)

FIRE AND MARINE, Non-Tariff.

ROYAL EXCHANGE AVENUE, LONDON,
AND

EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, LIVERPOOL.

WANTED, immediate ENGAGEMENT to assist a Mother with the CARE of her CHILDREN. A good needlewoman, has a knowledge of dressmaking. Or to wait upon a lady. Good reference.—Sabina, 2, Somerset-street, Bath.

WANTED, a respectable and intelligent YOUTH as APPRENTICE to the IRONMONGERY and GENERAL FURNISHING Trade. Will be expected to conform to the rules of the family. Premium required.—Apply to W. Payne, Wiveliscombe, Somerset.

M R. STREETER (Successor to

H ANCOCK and CO., Limited),

G OLDSMITH and JEWELLER,

W ATCH and CLOCK-MAKER

T O the ROYAL FAMILY,

37, CONDUIT-STREET,

BOND-STREET, LONDON, W.,

I NTRODUCER of the CELEBRATED

18-CARAT GOLD JEWELLERY, also

W ATCHES and CLOCKS,

M ACHINE-MADE.

B RACELETS, STRAP, 18-CARAT £5 0

B RACELETS, ETRUSCAN, " £7 0

B RACELETS, NINEVEH, " £10 0

B RACELETS, SAXON, " £15 0

B ROOCHES, ETRUSCAN, " £2 10

B ROOCHES, NINEVEH, " £3 0

B ROOCHES, SAXON, " £4 0

B ROOCHES, EGYPTIAN, " £5 0

C HAINS, PRINCESS, " £2 0

C HAINS, CYLINDER, " £3 0

C HAINS, CURB, " £4 0

C HAINS, CABLE, " £5 0

E ARRINGS, ETRUSCAN, " £1 10

E ARRINGS, SAXON, " £2 5

E ARRINGS, EGYPTIAN, " £3 5

E ARRINGS, NINEVEH, " £4 10

L OCKETS, ENGRAVED, " £1 0

L OCKETS, CORDED, " £2 10

L OCKETS, CROSS, " £4 0

G OLD WATCHES, LADIES', £8 8

G OLD WATCHES, " £10 10

G OLD WATCHES, ¼-PLATE, £15 15

G OLD WATCHES (HUNTING), £11 11

G OLD WATCHES, ½-PLATE, £16 16

G OLD WATCHES, " £20 0

G OLD WATCHES, KEYLESS £15 10

G OLD WATCHES, " £22 0

G OLD WATCHES (HUNTING), £18 18

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